THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 2, 1948 NUMBER 14

# The Shape of Things

THE WORKINGS OF THE RUSSIAN MIND ARE still "a mystery wrapt in an enigma." It is certain that the Soviet government will vehemently oppose the move by the Western powers to refer the Berlin question to the Security Council. Yet when they made their new demand for control of Berlin's air traffic, the Russians must have known that they were creating an impasse which would force just such action. If the Western powers relinquished their right to unimpeded air communications, they would place their garrisons and the life of the German capital completely in the Soviet power. This would leave them no alternative but withdrawal, and they have made it unmistakably clear that they mean to stay in Berlin. But while the appeal to the United Nations may have become inevitable, that does not mean that it can furnish a solution to the problem or, indeed, that it is much more than a gesture. If the Security Council is asked to act under Chapter 7 of the Charter, dealing with threats to peace and acts of aggression, the Soviet government can use its veto; if under Chapter 6, which treats of the peaceful settlement of disputes, all parties to the dispute must refrain from voting. That would leave the decision in the hands of the other seven members of the council, one of which is the Ukraine. And since seven votes are required for approval of any action, Russia, through the Ukraine, would still be able to exercise a veto. What then? Will the Western powers risk a walk-out of the Eastern states by asking the Assembly to condemn Soviet action? Mr. Del Vayo suggests in his dispatch from Paris on page 361 that Vishinsky will attempt a diversion by pressing his disarmament proposal. But that again can be no more than a propaganda move. So long as the Berlin dispute continues, talk of disarmament is futile, for although Berlin is only one of the points of friction between East and West, it has become symbolic of the whole struggle.

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THE BARE REPORT THAT THE AMERICAN Military Government in Germany had granted clemency to the notorious Ilse Koch of Buchenwald read like a monstrous joke. The story, as it is now being unfolded, of the series of solemn reconsiderations by high judiciary officials of A. M. G. which led to the commutation of her sentence from life imprisonment to a mere four years is even more fantastic. According to the army report issued the other day, the Deputy Judge Advocate, in a review of Mrs. Koch's case on November 15, 1947, said that while she had "reported inmates for infractions and violations of camp regulations" and "had beaten an inmate on at least one occasion," a four-year sentence was sufficient. On April 30, 1948, the War Crimes Board of Review upheld this finding; it was approved on May 10 by the Judge Advocate, European Command; it was approved on May 16 by General Clay's deputy chief of staff and by General Clay himself on June 8. And, finally, the whole incredible sequence was kept from the public—"We just failed to get the information out," says the public-relations chief of A. M. G.—from June 8 to September 16, when it was revealed, not by the army, but by *Stars and Stripes*. General Emil C. Keil, president of the military court which tried Mrs. Koch, William D. Denson, the chief prosecutor at her trial, and Robert Kunzig, the deputy chief prosecutor, have denounced the commutation—Mr. Kunzig with the remark, among others, that he considered Mrs. Koch "one of the most vicious women ever to exist on this earth." And Senator Homer Ferguson has hinted at a Congressional investigation of the army's kindness to a woman who boasted that she made lamp shades out of the skins of Nazi victims. We hope the Senator carries out his suggestion, though we somehow doubt that he will be as brave about exposing the high army benefactors of Ilse Koch as he has been about exposing reds.

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MR. TRUMAN'S SLASHING CAMPAIGN IS evidently based on the well-founded theory that his only chance is to get people excited enough about the election to come out and vote. That strategy is sound, since experience proves that a light vote favors the Republicans. In the Middle Western farm belt, he made the most of the memories of the agricultural depression under former Republican administrations and the hints that Republicans are opposed to support for crop prices, which is relied upon to prevent another deflation. Farther West, he attacked the Republican record on reclamation and power developments. There are subjects enough in the behavior of the present Congress to outfit a long

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*The Nation*, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
*Subscription Prices: Domestic*—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
*Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

speaking tour. If the voters can be induced to concentrate on the issues instead of relapsing into a hypnotic belief in the inevitability of Republican victory, Mr. Truman will have achieved his object. But he will have a hard time doing so as long as the Republican candidates maintain their pose of calm assurance and dignified tolerance.

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THE SWEDISH ELECTION RESULTS CONFORM fairly closely with the forecast made by Keith Hutchison in recent articles in *The Nation*. However, the Social Democrats have given less ground than was expected, losing only three seats. With 112 of the 230 members in the Second Chamber, they fall just short of a majority. Moreover, they still command a majority of the First Chamber, and most really contentious issues are settled by a joint vote. In addition, on domestic questions the Communists support the Social Democrats—they haven't much alternative—and while the Communist Party slumped badly, dropping six seats, its nine remaining members hold a balancing position. There can be little doubt, therefore, of the ability of the Social Democratic government to remain in power. The most interesting feature of the elections is the advance of the People's Party (Liberals) under the effective leadership of Professor Bertil Ohlin, the noted economist. Sweden has a proportional-representation system, and for electoral purposes this party formed a bloc with the Conservatives and the Agrarians, on the basis of an agreement to pool votes when their candidates failed to win a clear majority. This bourgeois coalition was unable to make serious inroads on the Social Democratic vote, and the almost sensational gains of the People's Party were, in fact, made at the expense of its allies. It increased its numbers in the Second Chamber from twenty-six to fifty-seven, while the Conservatives declined from thirty-nine to twenty-two and the Agrarians from thirty-five to thirty. "The tendency," Socialist Premier Tage Erlander said after the poll, "is toward two main parties as in England." Still more noteworthy is the fact that the anti-Socialists are consolidating around the banner of the least reactionary of the opposition parties.

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YET ANOTHER COMMUNIST UPRISING HAS occurred in Southeast Asia. Like that in Burma, the revolt of the Indonesian Communist Party is immediately directed, not against Western imperialists, but against a native nationalist government. Seizing the industrial city of Madiun in Java, the Communists, aided by a brigade of the regular republican army, have called for the overthrow of the Indonesian Republic and its replacement by a "People's Republic." The revolt is said to be headed by one Muso, a Communist of long standing who after years of exile in Moscow recently returned to Java. Of

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more dangerous significance, however, to the republican government is the recent adherence to the Communist cause of a popular leader of national stature—Amir Sharifudden, former Premier and leader of the Republican Socialist Party, which has been merged with the Communist Party in the People's Democratic Front. President Soekarno and Premier Hatta have denounced the revolt, proclaimed martial law, and ordered the republican army into action. But with relations with the Dutch still very unsatisfactory, their position is delicate. They have quickly turned down offers of help from the Dutch which might compromise them with their own people. They realize, however, that spread of the revolt may undermine their position in the United Nations, for some Dutch officials would like nothing better than a chance to tar the whole nationalist movement with the Communist brush and so gain sympathy in the West. Reports from Holland, in fact, suggest that the Madiun uprising is regarded with a certain complacency. Surely, this is very shortsighted. The refusal of many Europeans to realize that colonialism is dead and to deal generously and sincerely with nationalist movements, rather than any natural Asiatic affinity for communism, is Moscow's real secret weapon in the Far East.

*

JAMES F. O'NEILL, NATIONAL COMMANDER of the American Legion, has been advocating the creation of a professional counter-espionage corps to ferret out subversive influences in American life. What is really needed, however, is an intelligence service that would identify the vandals who made a shambles of Chicago hotels during the recent convention of the Illinois Legion. The Greater Chicago Hotel Association has dispatched a tart note to the Legion's national headquarters demanding consideration of the matter at the coming Miami convention. The Morrison Hotel alone reported damage running into thousands of dollars. Every mirror in the restaurant was broken; exit lamps from the twentieth floor down were smashed. Fire axes were tossed into crowded city streets; ten fire extinguishers were stolen and thirty were emptied in the corridors. Two girls were thrown from the mezzanine to fortunately overstuffed chairs on the main floor. A lighted paper bag was tossed over the transom into a girl's room. The Chicago hotel men have served notice that these defenders of Americanism and exposers of subversive influences will not be welcome another year unless some precautionary measures are taken. "It wasn't the young fellows who were doing it," reported a stenographer in the office of the hotel association; "it was the old goats." Perhaps the Legion's greatest need is for some form of mass psychoanalytic therapy adapted to America's most conspicuous case of arrested mental and emotional development.

# *New Party's New Policy*

THE bewilderment of outsiders at the tactics of the Progressive Party seems hardly greater than the confusion within the governing circles of that organization. A very short time ago, Henry Wallace's campaign manager, C. B. Baldwin, was berating critics for making the "false" and "reckless" charge that the third party was opposing liberal Democratic Congressional and state nominees in various parts of the country. But last week, when Baldwin suggested at a fund-raising dinner of Business Men for Wallace that the Progressives might support some of these same non-Wallace liberals, it was Wallace himself who tried to douse the proposal.

Mr. Baldwin told the audience that within ten days the Progressives would announce their policy on working with other parties for particular candidates. He specifically mentioned Representative Helen Douglas of California, but Progressive nominees, it appears, are already being withdrawn against two other Californians, Holifield and Havenner, and a sprinkling of others in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, where, incidentally, no Progressive contestant will be entered against Chester Bowles in his campaign for the governorship.

Baldwin's announcement alone proved how far from reckless the critics' charge had been. After all, Progressive candidates could hardly be withdrawn if they had not already been entered, and Wallace himself had actively campaigned for Helen Douglas's opponent. But even more revealing was Wallace's public reaction to Baldwin's remarks. "What are you doing to our party here?" he is reported to have asked his manager before the assembled Business Men for Wallace. Bowles and Douglas, he predicted, would have to go along with a "reactionary" Democratic Party in 1952, whereas "we've got to build a party, Beanie, we've got to build a party."

From a subsequent statement expressing Wallace's full confidence in Mr. Baldwin, we gather that the Presidential nominee will go along with the new line, however strongly he may doubt its wisdom. If so, he will be making no mistake. Many voters otherwise attracted to the Wallace standard have been repelled by the new party's apparent readiness to wreck the chances of people like Helen Douglas and Hubert Humphrey. Whether or not this explains Baldwin's extreme sensitivity on the point, we are glad that he has prevailed over his party leader. We only hope that, having made his point, he can carry the policy to its logical conclusion. Besides the withdrawals already indicated, it would be well to remove Progressive opposition to nominees like Lesinski in Michigan, Multer and Javits in New York, Jackson and Mitchell in Washington, Gramatz in Maryland, and all the other liberals who have been marked for sacrifice.

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# *Dewey on Inflation*

BREATHLESSLY, the country has waited to hear what the Republican Party, which opposed price controls and refused to vote in Congress for President Truman's anti-inflation measures, is going to do about the high cost of living. At Albuquerque, Mr. Dewey told us.

The first thing is to "get men in Washington who will know what caused it." The Republicans, we are led to infer, are the exclusive possessors of this secret. In his impartial wisdom and his talent for using simple words, Mr. Dewey condescends to explain it to us. The causes were the spending of borrowed money to fight the war, the pent-up demand of consumers at home, and the need for food and materials abroad. It almost seems as if the Republican candidate had been reading the Economic Reports of the President, or at least had had a few words with an economist.

The war spending, he says magnanimously, is not to be regretted. "We do not begrudge a cent of it." But he immediately goes on to blame "mistaken policies, bad management, and poor judgment"—not specified—and to say that the Democrats really wanted inflation anyway, having spent years trying to bring it about. Thus he gets credit for impartiality and blames his opponent at the same time.

Mr. Dewey's remedy is first to cut governmental spending. To the implied inquiry of the listener, "How?" he replies that we are "supporting a bloated and top-heavy bureaucracy." And here he manages another swipe at his opponent. Why does every Communist and fellow-traveler who is fired turn up in another job? Because "there are too many federal jobs." We gather that Mr. Dewey is going to cure inflation by clearing the reds out of the federal government.

But even if the new President should find that every bureaucrat was a Communist, and should dispense with the whole civilian establishment, he would not make much of a dent on inflation. In order to do much slashing he would have to cut something out of national defense, veterans' benefits, foreign grants or loans, interest on the debt, and other more or less obligatory payments, which in 1947 made up about seventh-eighths of the federal cash expenditure. The other one-eighth took care of the "bureaucracy," Congress, the courts, grants-in-aid to states, and all the rest.

The next anti-inflation measure of importance—besides bringing a lot of competent Republicans into Washington to replace the reds—will be to "maintain a substantial surplus of national revenues which we can use to retire outstanding government debt, particularly that part of the debt held by the banking system. Here, the economist again peers through the campaigner. But how is the surplus to be produced? By raising taxes, which the Republicans voted to reduce in spite of a Truman veto? Oh dear, no. Mr. Dewey is going to cut taxes in order to stimulate enterprise. It will be a neat trick to have a surplus and reduce taxes too.

Apparently, Mr. Dewey feels the need of saying something about the demand for price control and other anti-inflation measures. But he does not believe it discreet to mention the words. Instead he raises, and destroys, a straw man. Russia, he points out, because it had a police state and a completely controlled economy, "took away nine-tenths of the money of her people." There are, he says, those in this country who suggest a similar devaluation. We had not heard of them.

# *Will Murder Pay Off?*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

*Paris, September 25 (by Radio)*

TO GIVE the Negev to the Arabs is to give it to Transjordan. To give it to Transjordan is to give it to Britain. This simple sequence presumably explains why, within half an hour after Count Bernadotte's murder became known here in Paris, a British delegate assembled a press conference and confided his purely "private opinion" that the British government would probably accept the Bernadotte report. It also explains why Secretary Marshall jumped the gun by announcing American indorsement of the report days before the question was scheduled to come up in the Assembly. Both governments have betrayed an indecent eagerness to insure acceptance of the Count's recommendations while the stupefying effect of his assassination remains.

But even a tragic death does not sanctify an unjust and unworkable proposal. If Israel loses the Negev, its chance of developing a self-supporting economy and of resettling the refugees waiting in European camps will be seriously jeopardized. This dry, harsh land is the Jewish "frontier"—its only area of possible future development. Unfortunately, it is also an area long coveted by the British as a permanent Middle Eastern base. As early as last January, Lillie Shultz, writing in *The Nation,* described the British plan to control the Negev and thus secure a land link to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean as well as a strategic base for a large-scale military establishment. Bevin's indorsement of the Bernadotte report represents a final British effort to nail down this territory even at the cost of formally recognizing the Jewish state.

The proposal to deprive Israel of the Negev has such serious implications that one would imagine it must have been made only after profound consideration. I happen to know that this was not the case. The line slicing off two-thirds of Israel's territory was drawn by Count Bernadotte as the result of an off-hand decision made two or three days before his death. Almost at the last minute

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before completing his report, he decided that he should "give something to the Arabs" in order to avoid criticism and compensate them for the loss of western Galilee. When he marked the new line on the map, one of his closest associates, not notably friendly to the Jews, argued that a decision so damaging to Israel's prospect of economic survival should not be made without further consultation and thought. After some discussion, the Count promised to "sleep on it." In the morning, he said he had decided to leave the line as he had drawn it, but indicated that the whole thing could be regarded as more or less tentative and changed in Paris if it seemed impractical. Thus, whimsically, the fate of Israel was disposed of by the United Nations Mediator.

There has been nothing whimsical or improvised in the British effort to produce precisely this result. In fact, Britain was within an ace of succeeding last September when, using State Department pressure, the area was almost taken out of the Jewish state. Only the direct intervention of President Truman prevented the maneuver from succeeding. In June, the State Department and Bernadotte made direct approaches to Israel on the Negev and were turned down.

Neither Israel, its friends in America, nor the United States government can afford to allow the Bevin-Bernadotte-State Department decision to stand. If Truman wants to avert a disastrous blunder, he must take time out from his campaigning to instruct the American delegation here to withdraw from its present position of unqualified support. The least he can do is to insist that a special ad hoc committee on Palestine be created—consisting of all the member states of the United Nations—in which the Bernadotte report can be fully thrashed out. Only such action will prevent a hasty decision based, not on principle, but on the cynical exploitation of a tragic incident.

# *The United Nations Meet*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Paris, September 24*

BY THIS time everyone has commented on the gloomy atmosphere at the opening session of the United Nations Assembly, even though nature provided a perfect autumn day. I shall not dwell on the melancholy aspects of the occasion, for I can now report that the tension appears to have eased considerably. The speech of Secretary of State Marshall, while firm, avoided the angry overtones of the statement he made as he left New York—a statement that amazed veteran diplomats, unaccustomed to this new technique of announcing beforehand an intention to be pugnacious rather than conciliatory.

Reading the press reports of the New York interview, many people here recalled the publication of the Truman Doctrine on the second day of the Foreign Ministers' conference in Moscow, and expressed fear that the peculiar methods of American diplomacy were hardly designed to achieve international agreement. General Marshall's speech before the Assembly partly dispelled their uneasiness.

Another encouraging fact was the reaction of moderate sectors of opinion to what looked like a systematic attempt to put the Soviet Union in the corner as if it were an unruly child. The unprecedented way in which the Assembly ganged up to refuse the Eastern bloc a single presidency in the six major working commissions provoked sharp criticism even from conservative newspapers like *Le Monde*. This attitude was shared by most of the French and apparently by Foreign Minister Schuman, who in talks with Marshall and Bevin about whether or not the Western powers should break off the Moscow negotiations had successfully urged them to make another try.

General Marshall must have sensed the unfavorable impression created by the Assembly's belligerent anti-Soviet stand at the opening meeting, for in his speech he emphasized that there was no plot to hold any nation in the minority. But the fact remains that in the corridors and the various bars of the Palais de Chaillot, practically all conversation focuses on the coming showdown between Russia and the Anglo-Saxons. Inside the assembly hall a preliminary skirmish has already taken place; on the first day Foreign Minister Modzelewski of Poland served notice that his country would vigorously fight against any attempt to bring the controversial German issue before the United Nations. It is generally assumed, however, that the question will come before the Security Council if Moscow's reply to the tripartite note proves unsatisfactory.

The corridor gossip may be summed up briefly as follows: (1) you cannot come to an agreement with the Russians; (2) war is impossible, at least for several years to come; (3) the powers cannot remain indefinitely in a void that is neither war nor agreement. That these various points are in contradiction is evident, but people advance them one after the other with a shrug of despair. I base my continued hope of an eventual agreement between Russia and the West on the second point. While I do not pretend to share the secrets of the Politbureau

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in Moscow, I have my reasons for saying that Russia does not want a break.

But if the Berlin impasse dominates the gathering, the murder of Count Bernadotte and Secretary Marshall's speech have together brought the Palestine issue to the top of the agenda. The British and Americans evidently hope that under the impact of the blow delivered by the Sternist gangsters Israel will feel forced to settle on the terms offered in the Bernadotte report, which are, in fact, more liberal than many Jewish delegates expected. The backing given the recommendations by Marshall here and Bevin in London has lent them enormous weight, and in addition the wanton act of the terrorists has released a wave of unmistakable anti-Semitism in many important quarters here. The hypocritical grief of Arab delegates, unblushingly expressed on the very day the papers announced the blowing up of a U. N. convoy in Palestine by acknowledged Arab forces, will have less effect than the guarded comments of various Western delegates, who are saying that Israel should be thankful to get as much as the report offers—recognition as a state, the conquered area of western Galilee and Haifa, and reasonable provisions dealing with refugees and the possible exchange of populations. The Paris *Herald Tribune* quoted one "high delegation official" as saying that inasmuch as it was the Jews who killed Count Bernadotte, he hoped a "sense of guilt or desire to make retribution" would lead them to accept the report.

One hears a similar view expressed on all sides, but the Israeli government is not likely to allow any "sense of guilt" to betray it into sacrificing the vital interests of the country. The Israeli representatives with whom I have spoken are more horrified than their critics by the atrocious act of the Sternists. They also express satisfaction with some features of the report. At the same time they are prepared to resist firmly the proposal to hand over the Negev to the Arabs. This area, now barren and useless, is looked upon as the basis of all hopes for large-scale Jewish immigration. Regarding Jerusalem, the Jews here are more cautious, but privately they maintain that, aside from emotional or political considerations, the new city is now solidly Jewish and should be within the Israeli state. They will, however, probably accept international control of the holy places or even of the old city as a whole. With their government taking extraordinary measures to round up and punish the assassins of Bernadotte and to wipe out the terrorist faction, the Jewish delegates will certainly resent any suggestion that now, because of the mediator's death, they must abandon the case they had been arguing with him for so long.

No matter what London or Washington may hope, the debate on Palestine is likely to be protracted if Bevin sticks to his unreasonable demand that Bernadotte's proposals "be considered as a simple, integrated plan, and put into operation in their entirety." This, of course, is nonsense, and must be looked upon as a political maneuver and nothing more.

The Polish Foreign Minister raised the question of Spain on the opening day, taking a position which will be difficult to oppose. He simply asked that the resolutions against Franco Spain adopted by the Assembly in 1944 and 1947 be maintained. Perhaps it is a sign of our troubled times that the Spanish dictator is well represented in Paris this year by a delegation of observers, including his Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and several ambassadors, notably Señor Cárdenas, former ambassador to Washington. The entire strategy of the pro-Franco forces is designed to open a back door through which the fascist regime can be discreetly smuggled into the world organization; they have no hopes of getting Spain admitted as a member of the U. N. this year, but believe they can force an entry into one or more of the associated agencies, say aviation or health. At the same time pressure is being exerted on Franco himself to induce him to reach some sort of agreement with Don Juan that can be presented to the delegates as promising future changes in the regime. Spain will come before the Assembly in one form or another with all the explosive violence the question has been accumulating since the end of the war.

*September 27 (by Radio)*

THOUGH the sun shines as brilliantly as ever over the Palais Chaillot, this Monday morning differs strongly from the past few days. The Moscow reply to the three-power note and the subsequent action by the United States, Great Britain, and France bringing the Berlin issue before the Security Council has created widespread consternation. The small powers, particularly Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, complain most bitterly about the change in the picture. The general debate was going rather smoothly. Even the prepared speech delivered by Bevin was more or less conciliatory, although its last sentence, "If we cannot proceed on a world basis as we hoped, we must proceed on a regional basis," hardly fortified belief in the future of the United Nations. But apart from its confirmation of the British decision to support Count Bernadotte's Palestine plan in its entirety, a few comments on Greece, and conventional assurances of good-will directed to Vishinsky, the British Foreign Secretary's speech stuck to generalities. Everything, therefore, looked promising for the Assembly session until the explosive dispute over Berlin was placed before the Security Council, risking the final disruption of the only remaining machinery of peace. Frenchmen with whom I spoke this morning considered the move a defeat for Foreign Minister Schuman, who had hoped to prevent a break. Speculation is general as to whether the Russians will withdraw or remain in the Security Council. Though it is too early to anticipate anything, there is a greater in-

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clination to believe that they will remain and fight their case. Though technically the Security Council and the Assembly are quite different bodies, the effect of this development on the present Assembly session will be great, and nobody will be able to complain of a dull meeting. I have spoken with people of differing political viewpoints whose reactions can be summed up in the following way: "Either the American delegation will obtain the two-thirds' vote necessary to put the blame on the Russians—and that would mean the end of the United Nations and the birth of a simple anti-Russian coalition—or the Assembly will reject the entire affair."

In the face of this sudden nervousness there remains Vishinsky's call for an arms cut, which brought this significant comment from Roger Massip, foreign editor of the conservative *Figaro*: "We do not share the systematic skepticism with which certain commentators have received the Soviet suggestion. If the proposed arms-control body should be subject to all the difficulties inherent in the right of veto in the Security Council, then, yes, the Soviet proposal can properly be considered a pure maneuver. But if the veto problem is removed, nobody will have a right to ignore the plan of which Vishinsky has indicated only the larger outlines." The Communist paper *Humanité* has cleverly reproduced in a box the exact words of a cable sent by United Press and distributed among its French clients immediately after Vishinsky spoke: It says, "He received the greatest ovation of any speaker at the present session." Thus to the great diplomatic and journalistic offensive by the West, initiated with the presentation of a White Paper from Washington and the three-power note, the Russians are to reply by an offer of disarmament. Their strategy seems to be to overshadow the limited issue of Berlin with the total issue of war or peace. But it is precisely the prospect of a tremendous duel in the Assembly that this morning shadows the faces of the highest United Nations officials with fear and gloom.

# *Man Versus Nature*

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THOUGHTFUL persons have long been aware that modern science has unleashed powerful forces whose misuse—under the twin pressures of a rapidly mounting world population and irresponsible profit-seeking—is leading to swift depletion of the world's resources of land and minerals. Recently wide attention has been attracted by two books with this as their subject: "Our Plundered Planet" by Fairfield Osborn, president of the New York Zoological Society, and "Road to Survival" by William Vogt, chief of the conservation section of the Pan-American Union. It was also the keynote of the 100th anniversary meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Washington two weeks ago. Fully a third of the papers presented there dealt with the rapid exhaustion of man's resource capital; more than one termed it a problem incomparably graver than the atom bomb.

Such a statement is no exaggeration, for while the threat of the atom bomb is more immediate, the progressive diminution of the world's capacity to produce will exact a greater penalty in the end. The outlines of the coming food and raw-materials crisis are already visible, even in a comparatively well-off country like ours. Year by year, for example, Americans draw food from 500,000 fewer acres; every twelve months that many are ruined, beyond the possibility of repair in less than several generations, by the farming methods dominant in the United States. Present farming and lumbering practices, together with extravagantly wasteful industrial usage, are likewise depleting our underground reserves of water: on the West Coast the water crisis is not a matter of the future; it is already here. Further, the United States, in the opinion of competent authorities, passed its peak as a minerals producer in 1943; never again shall we extract as many tons of ore from the ground as we did in that year —it isn't there.

Most ecologists (students of the relationship between the earth and its animal and plant inhabitants), including Vogt and Osborn, agree that the crisis will be fully developed everywhere within one or two generations unless something is done to reduce population pressures and to alter drastically many current agricultural and industrial practices. To most of us, including some who accept the necessity of conservation, this forecast will come as a surprise. How can the great natural wealth of a country like the United States be dissipated so rapidly? The explanation lies in the workings of nature. Ordinarily, nature overcomes disturbances to its balance. When the derangement is too great to be compensated—and modern technology has deranged the balance as never before—natural forces themselves drive the destructive process forward at an ever-accelerating rate.

THE vulnerability of nature to self-destructive changes springs from the cyclical character of the most important natural processes. The biosphere, the narrow zone at the earth's surface which provides man with practically all his necessities, is the theater for a large number of inter-

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woven chemical and physical processes, some continuous, some intermittent, whose effect is to circulate and make available to each plant and animal organism in turn the rather limited amount of material the biosphere contains. Thus nitrogen, one of the principal constituents of living matter, is constantly transferred from the atmosphere to nitrogen-fixing bacteria in the soil, to plants, to animals—including man—and then, through the activities of putrefactive bacteria, back to the atmosphere, where the process begins anew. During the eons of geological time these cycles reached a nice state of balance. Most of them were closed—for example, the nitrogen and oxygen cycles; others were nearly so—for example, the carbon cycle; and losses of material to sites where it became unavailable, such as ocean deeps, were comparatively small. Each cycle proceeded, moreover, at the rate required by related cycles; thus water was generally available in just the amount needed to maintain nitrogen-fixing bacteria. Large changes in the over-all pattern of the biosphere were slow.

A system of interlocking cycles has a remarkable capacity for adjusting itself to disturbances of a limited size. A real interruption, however, even if it is initially confined to a single cycle, swiftly pulls down the entire structure. What happens when the water cycle is broken by stripping land of its plant cover is well known: the rainfall runs off instead of soaking into the ground. This not only denies nutrition to plants and replenishment to underground water reserves but, by carrying away the mulch and topsoil, breaks the soil-plant-animal cycles of calcium, phosphorus, and other mineral nutrients. The process is self-accelerating; the more the land is eroded the less the rainfall is absorbed and the swifter is the run-off. Recent Department of Agriculture studies have shown that under some methods of cultivation erosion may proceed a thousand to five thousand times as rapidly as on untilled land.

In his book Vogt points out that every piece of land has a characteristic carrying capacity. On a sustained-yield basis, it can grow so many bushels of wheat or feed so many cattle or produce so much wood a year; if agricultural technology remains at a given level, the figures are roughly constant. Yields can be increased temporarily by new farming methods, like deep plowing, or in the case of forest land by cutting in excess of the replacement rate, but such practices almost invariably disrupt the water cycle and impoverish the soil. "Mining" the land in this way has been a common practice in all ages. It became doubly pernicious when the introduction of machinery into farming and lumbering removed the limits on the amount of land a man could devastate. It is now a serious threat to the world, for no large tracts of new land are immediately available to take the place of the ruined acres. As a result, we face a decline in land productivity in many areas of the globe just when population growth is creating new demands for food, clothing fibers, building materials, and a host of other products.

Much that is obtained from the land is renewed by the land, but modern man uses enormous amounts of non-renewable materials—coal, oil, iron ore, and other minerals. Supplies of these were accumulated, at locations and in forms more or less convenient to man, largely by geochemical and geophysical accident and are not being replaced on any significant scale by new deposits. In a paper read at the A. A. A. S. meeting in Washington T. S. Lovering of the United States Geological Survey reported that five vital metallic ores—zinc, lead, tin, mercury, and platinum—are already in short world supply. If industrialization, as is likely, makes substantial progress during the next generation in now unindustrialized areas, the demand for several other metals will go beyond levels that can be easily met. Many countries have already had to turn to low-grade ores to obtain enough copper and steel. We ourselves have just about exhausted our supplies of high-grade iron ore.

The extraordinary speed with which man's appetite for fuels is increasing may be gauged from an observation made by M. King Hubbert, Shell Oil Company geologist, in another A. A. A. S. paper. Half of all the coal brought out of the ground since the beginning of coal digging four centuries ago has been mined since 1920. Similarly, half of the world's total oil production since the drilling of the first well in 1857 has been concentrated in the past ten years. Nevertheless, the world is in a better position with respect to sources of energy than with respect to any other major need. Coal supplies are large and can be converted to synthetic liquid fuels when petroleum reserves give out. In addition, two impending technological developments, atomic energy and direct utilization of sunlight—at least for home heating, which now takes a large fraction of the world output of fuel—promise ultimately to make energy man's one inexhaustible resource. The most serious immediate energy problem is distribution. The greater part of the world's coal and oil reserves is located in half a dozen countries; several important areas, like China and Latin America, have woefully inadequate fuel deposits.

THE promise of an inexhaustible supply of energy through technological advance points to one effective approach to the problem of too many people and too few resources. In the normal course of events one may expect over the next two decades scientific advances which will reduce the pressure on resources—substitutes may be developed for metals in short supply and non-destructive methods devised for raising land yields. Still more would be accomplished if research directed specifically to this end were given the highest priority.

Of course, positive conservation measures are also required at once in virtually all countries. What can be

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achieved in this way is indicated by the experience of the United States, where 100,000,000 acres that were on their way downhill have been restored nearly to their original fertility by the erosion-control measures of the Federal Soil Conservation Service and the new methods of farming taught by this service on demonstration farms. It goes without saying that industrial activities equally require revision from the conservation point of view, not only to eliminate water wastage, pollution of streams, and so on, but to stop the production of articles—like the new electric gadget for grinding up garbage and flushing it down the kitchen drain—that do more harm than good.

Unfortunately, conservation and technological progress alone will not ward off the food and raw-materials crisis. Current production of foodstuffs, clothing fibers, and shelter materials is short of reasonable current needs by at least 30 per cent; conservation and technology will do well, therefore, to provide more than a bare subsistence for the *present* world population. Meeting the requirements of the future population, which, if unchecked, will be 2.7 billion by 1970 as against 2.2 billion today, appears out of the question. Thus not only increased research and a world-wide conservation program but energetic measures to limit population growth are immediately necessary.

# *Big Brass and Jim Crow*

BY THOMAS SANCTON

*Washington, September 24*

DURING the last war the race issue was by all odds the army's most serious morale problem. It caused a little administrative war within the framework of the big war, and a sizable foreign campaign could have been mounted with the material and man-hours diverted to this phantom battlefront. A tremendous war potential was wasted in the duplication of training and transportation facilities, the required political and social adjustments and liaison activities, and the brawls, discouragements, and destructive attitudes of white and Negro troops.

Despite progress at certain training levels, the problem of effective Negro integration is still largely unsolved. At the same time, Russia's race-equality doctrines create far more serious psychological and propaganda difficulties for the army than did the self-defeating racism of Nazi Germany.

For these reasons President Truman's appointment this week of a seven-member advisory committee to help end the demobilization-era lethargy about race problems in the services was of first-rank military significance. The task of this committee will be in general to undertake the reeducation and reindoctrination of the command groups on the basis of the services' own costly wartime race experiences. The committee will undoubtedly insist upon a more active and imaginative use of the army's official Gillem Board report, which strongly advocated that white and Negro troops be mixed in small units like platoons. Lester Granger and John H. Sengstacke, two Negro members of the committee, are unequivocally against segregation in any form as a fixed army policy, and they may succeed in persuading the whole committee and the defense establishment to support recommendations for experimental units in which integration is complete—with a view to establishing ultimately the principle of integration throughout the services.

During the war the army found that all-Negro divisions, such as the Ninety-second and Ninety-third, were militarily inefficient. The economic, educational, and psychological disadvantages suffered by Negroes in civilian life were reflected in the poor morale of these divisions. During the Battle of the Bulge, however, 2,250 Negro volunteers from labor and non-combat assignments, after a brief period of training, were interspersed as rifle platoons among front-line white troops. Their performance was excellent, and official surveys revealed that a large majority of the white troops and officers approved their use. The Gillem Board's recommendations were largely based on this experiment.

In accordance with the board's recommendations, the army has now abandoned the principle of all-Negro divisions and integrated Negro regiments with white regiments within divisions. Except in rare instances integration has not been carried out at the platoon level. Negroes are now being trained—in limited but nevertheless significant proportions—in specialized combat branches like the paratroops and mechanized units. Separate recreational and post-exchange facilities are provided for Negro training areas, but regulations state that Negroes in white areas may not be barred from these facilities on the basis of race. Negroes will no longer be trained in the South. On May 31 there were 63,511 Negroes in the army, 11.15 per cent of the total personnel of 569,704.

The navy at the beginning of the war excluded Negroes from all combat ratings. They were assigned exclusively as messmen and in the commissary branches. However, race relations among white and Negro seamen

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were excellent at sea, where they were cut off from community antagonisms, and the navy found it expedient to give up its all-Negro vessels and to liberalize its integration practices. This policy brought a historic order in 1946: "Effective immediately all restrictions governing types of assignments for which Negro naval personnel are eligible are hereby lifted. Henceforth they shall be eligible for all types of assignments in all ratings in all activities and all ships of the service." However, the navy falls far short of implementing the spirit of this order. More than two-thirds of the Negro navy personnel are still employed as stewards or in commissary units. The Negro enlistment of 17,740 is 5½ per cent of total navy personnel.

The air corps trained a token group of Negro fighter pilots at Tuskegee Field during the war. This program encountered local prejudice and obstruction and has since been moved to Lochbourne Air Base, Columbus, Ohio. The air force now trains Negroes in all branches, including fighters and bombers, though the majority of its Negro personnel are service troops. Since its separation from the army the air force has indicated that it will continue to use the Gillem recommendations as a guide. The command observes a policy of complete integration in its officer-training program at Randolph Field. Negro enrolment there is only 1 per cent, but James C. Evans, civilian aide to the Defense Secretary, reports that this small figure is due to the lack of qualified Negro applicants. The Randolph program, he says, is an encouraging sign that the new air force contemplates an effective use of the nation's Negro component.

In general terms, the military's attitude on race can be characterized as "a grudging adjustment" to realities, the phrase used in an excellent critical analysis of postwar race developments submitted to Secretary Forrestal by sixteen Negro civilian leaders who were called in for advice last April. This group told the armed services that the lack of progress since the war was discouraging and that the army had failed to solve the basic problem of race morale. The army points to the high rate of Negro reenlistments as an indication that Negro service men themselves are not dissatisfied. The Negro leaders maintain, and the army admits, that this is in some degree the result of lack of opportunity and security in civilian life.

The army, like the nation of which it is a cross-section, faces a dilemma: military logic urges integration, but widespread prejudice—shared by privates and generals alike—argues more vociferously against it. And like the nation, the army is being harried constantly toward more rational racial practices by a militant Negro leadership whose interference it resents. Phillip Randolph's threat of a March on Washington during the war helped to open many restricted employment areas to Negro labor, and thereby increased the country's striking power. The pressure which he and other Negroes have exerted in recent months to end the disgrace of segregation in the services may contribute as materially to military efficiency.

# *A Nation Once Again?*

BY MARGARET BARRINGTON

*Dublin, September 17*

SINCE Mr. Attlee chose to spend a short holiday in Eire—a purely private visit, he emphasized—and then to call on Northern Ireland, the newspaper boys have been busy with rumors. In spite of denials and diplomatic headshakes they have insisted that the Day of Union was fast approaching. I often think as I read these effusions, concocted largely in the Palace bar or similar ports of call around Dublin, that in the interest of union Mr. Costello's noncommittal answers are a clear indication of the line to follow.

One quality that the Irish, north and south, have in common is a fear of losing face. The North may be coaxed, cajoled, and maneuvered—there must be no coercion. Mr. Costello understands, what Mr. De Valera never could, that the first move must come from the North. He can do little more than hold the door open with welcome on the mat. Neither Dublin nor Westminster should attempt any overt pressure.

The war has brought about a great change in the relations between North and South. At the time of the split the northern industrialists, backed by the smaller business interests and the farmers, saw in Britain their only market and their political and financial support. All during the interval between the two world wars the Tories held power in England, and the Tories from both sentiment and interest were prepared to keep the Stormont group in power. But this war has altered that. A Labor government which handed back India, gave up Egypt, and cleared out of Palestine was not likely to back the North in maintaining an exclusive and expensive government. The Stormont group, still clinging to

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power, for power has greater attractions than money, is finding much of its former support falling away.

The richer business interests are realizing that Britain is no longer the good milch cow. It has gone dry and is costing them money. They are subjected to heavy taxation, many controls, the fear of a capital levy, and the tyranny of a well-organized labor force. They turn their eyes enviously across the border and see a community where free enterprise, however ruthless, is encouraged and labor goes a-begging. They see a low income tax, plenty of goods in the windows, and no food rationing worth talking about. Prices may be high, but they are lower than the prices ruling on the vast black market which operates on the border, a black market beyond the control of either government. Moreover, the North is a dollar-earning community, and its dollars are going to pay for the war. The answer to its problem is to come in with the South. In spite of the denials of the Stormont gang, the business men of the North, like the Eloquent Dempsey, are prepared to turn their orange coats and show the green lining.

WHAT, then, prevents an instant reconciliation? Mainly two very divergent interests. The Stormont group, in power since the split and very noisy in its shouts of loyalty to the British Raj, must save its face. The common man is doubtful. He has little to gain from a change and something to lose.

Mr. De Valera always made the mistake of thinking that the Catholics of the North, pushed about as they undoubtedly are, wanted union with Eire. Many others, both here and abroad, have made the same mistake. This emphasis on religious differences is misleading. Except around Belfast the vast majority of the workers are Catholic, and even in Belfast the percentage is only barely in favor of the Protestants. The cleavage in the North has become an economic one. The workers, influenced by the teachings of Connolly, were formerly for a strong Irish Labor Party, but they are now thinking differently. The Fianna Fail government and the rural economy of Eire have reduced the southern Labor Party to a powerless organization. Constant emigration has lowered its vitality. It has little or no funds. iSnce Connolly's death there has been no unifying influence, and it is split into rival factions.

In the North, on the other hand, the workers, thanks to a Labor government, have security of employment. They have the backing of the big English unions and all the advantages such backing implies, both educational and financial. They are not forced like the workers in Eire to leave home and seek employment abroad. Their pay is high. Their food, if controlled in quantity, is also controlled in price, and they get more to eat in Belfast than they would if similarly employed in Dublin. The married worker with a growing family in the North is not troubled by any income tax, and he earns enough to provide for them all. The unmarried worker, even with income tax to pay, is earning more and spending less than the worker in Eire.

Also, though the Costello government has started a program of social reform, it is slow to put it into operation. Essentially a conservative party, relying on support from a farming community, it has to go slow. Take, for example, the case of the old-age pensioner. In the North he gets twenty-six shillings a week and in Eire twelve and sixpence, less than half, with bread nearly double the price. No old-age pensioner in the South, living on his pittance, could afford to buy meat. If he has no relations to give him a roof, he is compelled to go to a public institution—the old workhouse—or accept the charity of his neighbors. It is impossible to sustain life on twelve shillings and sixpence a week.

Now the biggest dollar-earning interest in the North is the linen industry. This is not a big, centralized interest like the cotton trade in Manchester. The mills are scattered through the country, in small towns and villages. There are a few large mills in and around Belfast, but the bulk of the output comes from such country towns as Dungannon, Sion Mills, and Larne. There are good reasons for this. Linen employs many more women than men and always exists in conjunction with some other business, such as agriculture, where more men than women are employed. Also, since the mills were once run by water-power, many old mills are still operating on up-country rivers.

Before the war Belgium was the great source of yarns. Now most of the flax comes from Eire—there is not the currency to buy it abroad—and those large Belfast firms which before the war established branches across the border find themselves in a favorable position. The southern branch is more profitable for other reasons, too. There is not the same meticulous inspection of factories, the insistence on safety precautions which slow up output. There is lower taxation. The linen-master does his buying in Eire and his selling in New York, his markets in England being restricted. Everything is tending to push him into the arms of Mr. Costello, who is holding the door wide open.

The Stormont gang, headed by Sir Basil Brooke, bluster and shout. They are between the devil and the deep sea. They loathe a Labor Britain and Labor in their own midst. But they are afraid of their total extinction if they join the South. If the Labor government of Britain decides to present them on a platter to Eire, their former backers are likely to evaporate. They may beat the orange drum in vain. The English look more and more to Eire to supply them with bacon, eggs, and beef. Can the South save them more than the North earns? Will a Labor government desert the workers of the North? That is how I see the problem.

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# *Why I'll Vote for Thomas*

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

FOR what purpose does the delegate rise?" asked the chairman of a session of the Socialist Party convention at Reading, Pennsylvania, last May.

"For the purpose of discussing unfinished business."

"What is the nature of that business?"

"To bring the ideals of free, democratic socialism to every corner of the country, so that following the elections of 1948 Socialists, liberals, and progressives, with a big vote for Norman Thomas and Tucker Smith behind them, may join in building a democratic, non-Communist political party, in clear-cut opposition to both old parties."

The convention proceeded to nominate Thomas and Smith and thereby set in motion a campaign which for enthusiasm and effectiveness reminds old-timers in the party of the days when we rolled up a million votes for Eugene Victor Debs in 1912, when, working with the La Follette forces in 1924 we helped persuade five million citizens to vote for "r-r-revolutionary measures," when in 1932, despite the allure of F. D. R., a million votes were gathered in by Norman Thomas.

In the first days of the campaign the voices of Socialist spokesmen were drowned in the tumult and the shouting which accompanied the emergence of that conglomeration of sincere liberals, nostalgic populists, and crypto-Communists which Henry Wallace calls the "Progressive Party"—to the horror, be it added, of all La Follette Progressives. Now that the voters have taken the measure of Henry Wallace, his platform, his singing-mate, and most of all his closest advisers, a lot of sober second thinking is going on in those side streets where he hopes to find support. To be sure, Henry Wallace is against war and for peace. He opposes the more outrageous forms of spoliation as practiced by the monopolies, but he is all for "free enterprise"—"the spirit of Horatio Alger," as he once put it—and the private-profit system. At long last he has come out against Frank Hague, though when the liberal and Socialist heat was turned on that symbol of old-party corruption, no word of censure for the vote-producing vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee ever came from the lips of Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace. Similarly, he has now a tear to shed for the plight of the Southern share-cropper, though when he could have done something to alleviate that plight, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace was dry-eyed and mute. As for Mr. Wallace's foreign policy, consult the firm of Marcantonio, Pressman, and Abt, or the editorial columns of the *Daily Worker*.

Independents seeking political shelter against the storms and stresses of these tragic days find the house that Henry has built a frail structure; nor do they see in the leaky Truman tent any abode where true liberalism can set up housekeeping. As a consequence, the Socialist campaign, reversing the procedure noted when F. D. R. was in the White House, has gathered momentum as Election Day nears, which makes it the subject of surprised comment by even the most sophisticated radio and news men. While campaigners for free socialism in the last great citadel of capitalism expect no miracles, it occurs to shrewd observers that a man-sized vote for Thomas might result in the organization of the democratic-minded masses into the kind of political opposition that both old parties fear far more than any Communist-led demonstrations—which is what the Wallace campaign is amounting to in these fall days.

What are Tucker Smith—Quaker, labor organizer, educator, and forty-nine-year-old fighter for free socialism—and Norman Thomas saying to packed houses these days? They are saying, as the Socialist 1948 platform declares:

> In 1948 we face the elemental question of survival. The atomic revolution has burst upon the world, and a new unity has been forged among the human race. Men who used to be brothers one of another may now become children of a common doom—unless we learn to reorganize our society for survival and not for mutual extinction; unless we learn new techniques of cooperation to replace the old policies of competition; unless we move rapidly to socialization, by which alone the individual can be preserved in the interdependent world of the turbine, the plane, the steel mill, and the uranium pile; unless we move rapidly to world order without greed, profit, and hate.

In more states than have been covered by Socialist campaigners at any time in the past decade Thomas and Smith and a big slate of local candidates are saying:

> Three forces today are competing for the loyalty of men. On the one hand, an economic system calling itself "free enterprise" asserts that it can lead to the salvation of humanity. It has brought us repeatedly to depressions and wars; yet its spokesmen in the Democratic and Republican parties still pretend that they have solutions.

*McALISTER COLEMAN is now running for Congress on the Socialist ticket in the Seventh District of New Jersey against J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee.*

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They have betrayed the promises with which they woo the American people every four years. They offered prosperity and delivered depression. They promised to increase our standard of living and are now raising the cost of living. They promised freedom to organized labor and hobbled it with new bonds. They sought partisan advantage and jeopardized national welfare. The dominant wings in their parties have combined to destroy price control and give us inflation, to undermine restraints on greed and give us shortages, to cut the taxes of the rich and insult the common man with a crumb.

"What about communism?" cries a heckler. "Aren't you Socialists just a dressed-up front for the Commies? Isn't socialism the first step toward dictatorship?"

There is a second force in the world [answers Thomas] which promises security and speaks of freedom but delivers only economic bondage and dictatorship. It is the force of totalitarianism. Yesterday its most sinister front was fascism; today it is communism. In the United States it marches under masked banners. It calls itself a "new party" and has pushed into the forefront well-meaning liberals who do not know the purpose of their Communist allies. And this alliance, though speaking for civil liberties at home, defends the most powerful tyranny in the modern world. It speaks of peace but is blind to the most aggressive imperialism of the present day. It speaks of one world but works for two spheres of influence.

SOCIALISM, the third force, has grown to maturity in this country through a half-century of struggle against seemingly overwhelming odds. Like its candidates it has proved itself durable, resilient, and aware of the social and economic time of day. It has made serious mistakes, but even its bitterest enemies cannot accuse American socialism of abandoning the fundamental vision of the new society where no man exploits his brother and all share in the fair rewards of democratic national and international planning.

In the old days all Socialist campaigners, discussing immediate domestic demands, simply pressed for government ownership to the end that the workers might own the tools of production. In foreign affairs we generally went along with the German Social Democrats in their fight against militarism, the Kaiser, and the Prussian Junkers, and with the English Fabians in their fight against imperialism, the Tories, and the cruelties of the later phases of the Industrial Revolution. Today we must answer such a question as this: "If you succeed in persuading the majority of the people that an economy planned along Socialist lines with production for use rather than profit will be of greater benefit to all the people than our present system, what guaranties do you offer against the evils of bureaucracy, overcentralization, and, in the long run, the dictatorship of the police state?"

Though you may recognize the voice of Hayek and the influence of the N. A. M., still you realize that this question is central and must be answered. After setting up as major goals the socialization of natural resources, basic industries, public utilities, and banking and credit institutions, the 1948 platform says:

*Norman Thomas*

Socialism will democratize the economic life of the nation by the joint representation of the workers, the working management, and the consuming public in socialized enterprises; by the guaranty of popular control of enterprise through the maximum decentralization economically feasible and the use of various types of organization, particularly the public corporation and the genuine cooperative; and by the preservation of the freedom of labor organization and consumer choice. With such control we can have democratic planning. . . . Because of the accidents of geography [we] can make the choice between scarcity and abundance. Our mines and factories were not devastated by the physical havoc of the last war. We can plan today, as the other Western democracies are planning, for full employment and peak production and still leave opportunities for the operation of genuinely free enterprise in fields other than the production of necessities of life.

Such is the program of latter-day American socialism. In practice it would work out somewhat as follows. Planning boards, national and regional, would be set up for the operation of our key industries. Take the case of fuel. A Fuel Authority "clothed with the powers of government but possessed of the flexibility of a private enterprise," to use the language employed in setting up the TVA, would be created, charged with the duty of planning for the proper use of coal, oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric power, and mindful of the possibility of the peace-time use of atomic energy.

The six thousand bituminous mines and the concentrated group of anthracite operations, together with their distribution facilities, would be taken over by the Fuel Authority after compensation was provided for the present owners by giving them government revenue bonds in exchange for their paper. In regions where it was geographically possible, power from coal and falling water

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(hydroelectric) would be integrated to create power pools from which transmission lines would carry electric current to homes, farms, and factories. With the development of great river valleys like the Missouri, the St. Lawrence, the Columbia, and of such smaller but no less important valleys as the Connecticut, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, power would become an ally of the seriously imperiled conservation movement, instead of the enemy that it now is wherever it is privately owned.

Here the question of centralization again enters. The men in charge of TVA have centralized the creation of an electrical supply for large integrated areas but have left the distribution of power to cooperatives, municipally owned plants, and other regional public bodies. No remote control by Washington bureaucrats can successfully tackle local problems stemming from physical and economic variations. The problems of a public-utility district in the Northwest getting power from Bonneville or Grand Coulee differ sharply from those of an industrial community in New Jersey which owns its coal-burning power plant.

No such planning worries the Wallacites, though many of them insist they are for nationalization. At the Wallace convention a tavern-keeper from a Pennsylvania mining-town threatened to make a fight on the floor against a proposal to put nationalization of coal in the platform. This delegate, a former Democratic ward-heeler and one-time miner, said that the rank and file of the coal-diggers didn't want it. So nationalization of the mines was dropped.

With socialization of the coal industry shorter hours of work and higher standards of living would parallel technological advances. After all, the chief problem of coal is the human one. The perennial conflicts in the fields are not so much over hours and wages as over the status of miners as individuals entitled to full participation in major decisions affecting the industry in which they work. In a socialized industry the miners' union would bargain collectively with the Fuel Authority as the unions in the strikeless Tennessee Valley bargain with the TVA. No form of ownership is a guaranty against strikes. Socialization would minimize strikes by removing the causes as far as humanly possible.

"As far as humanly possible" is of course the conditioning phrase in any blueprint of socialization for these swiftly shifting scenes. Socialists realize that the cooperative commonwealth they urge calls for the type of public servant represented by the non-Socialist David Lilienthal or the Socialist Stafford Cripps, and that it will be a job to find such men. Socialists agree that "politics is the practice of the possible" and that any unplanned, wholesale shift of ownership from concentrated private wealth to a centralized administrative state might well give the totalitarians a chance to do their stuff. For that reason, and not because of any great tenderness for the handful of corporations at the levers now, plans for the socialization of natural resources and key industries must retain the "gradualism" that was the bugaboo of my militant Socialist Party youth, when I used to tell the folks to take over the mines, factories, and rails, and all would be added to them.

I COULD wish that the foreign-policy planks of the Socialist platform were as clear-cut as those on housing, education, health, racial prejudice, and industrial and agricultural democracy. Socialists back the Marshall Plan as originally set forth; they reject the "confused commitments of the Truman Doctrine." They would propose to the United Nations that peace-time conscription be abolished in all countries and that "a rigid limitation and international control of all armaments be followed by universal not unilateral disarmament—all such measures to be accompanied by the unlimited right of inspection through an agency of the United Nations."

Socialists want the U. N. to accept the majority plan for atomic control based on the Baruch proposals, and in the meantime to halt the manufacture of atomic bombs and conduct a campaign of world education on atomic matters. Access to raw materials, internationalization of international waterways, and the establishment of customs unions—these are some of the steps advocated by Socialists toward "the achievement of true democratic federal world government." Sometimes when I read these unquestionably worthy objectives I feel like the I. W. W. organizer taking his first train trip through the glories of the Rocky Mountains with his nose buried in a Wobbly paper. When his fellow-worker urged him to look at the view, he said crossly, "Aw! I can't get excited about capitalist scenery."

The seeming apathy of the man in the street about the conduct of foreign policy stems, in my opinion, from the fact that he feels he can't do anything about it. He reads about "commitments" made at Yalta, Teheran, and other strange places and can't recall having any part in them. He doesn't want the recovery program in Europe to be turned into an attempt to reestablish capitalist reaction or to promote American economic imperialism; but he feels licked at the start.

It is as much against such a spirit of defeatism as against Dewey, Truman, or Wallace that Norman Thomas is campaigning this year. The tall, blue-eyed, hard-hitting Socialist who is now running for the sixth time for the Presidency should, in all conscience, know something about defeat. It is faith in the rank and file that keeps him spiritually and philosophically undefeated, crusading for that new political alignment of all our democratic forces which, in his words, can "start America and the world on the road to peace, to freedom, and to plenty."

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# What Happened in Georgia?

BY GLENN W. RAINEY

*Atlanta, September 21*

THE meaning, on one level at least, of Herman Talmadge's crushing victory in Georgia was proclaimed by "Hummon" himself when he announced that Georgia had given its answer to Harry Truman and the civil-rights forces. The answer was indeed so resounding that on the strength of it almost anybody would prophesy that the South was ready to follow the course of 1928 again—this time impelled not by such namby-pamby stuff as religious antagonism or a weakness for prohibition but by the headier stimulant of racial tensions.

*Herman Talmadge*

Nevertheless, the insistence of the Talmadge forces that the question of civil rights was the sole issue of the campaign was not alone responsible for the defeat of Acting Governor Thompson. Herman Talmadge fell heir to the whole Talmadge tradition of dramatic identification with the rural white voters of Georgia. No other political figure in recent Georgia history—perhaps in recent Southern history—has been able to compete with Eugene Talmadge as the spokesman of the Southern middle-class farmer, and Herman Talmadge played his father's role with fidelity.

Also contributing to his victory was the character of the opposition. Fearful of the political dictatorship which Talmadge and his chief ally, Roy Harris, might attempt to set up in the name of preserving the white primary and white supremacy generally, former governors Ellis Arnall and Ed Rivers smoked the pipe of peace and undertook to marshal their forces behind Thompson. Arnall has been shrewd enough, and probably glad enough, to recognize that no Democrat is going very far in national politics without disowning Ku Klux support. But his very popularity "up North" as a liberal and a progressive is the measure of his present weakness as a Georgia politician. As for Ed Rivers, with his background of paving scandals and pardon racketeering, it was found when the returns were in that he had not even delivered to Thompson the counties presumed to be his in fee simple. Thompson himself had spent the two years of his administration and the months of his campaign wooing some of the most reactionary elements in the state in the effort to win corporate support.

The two "lying Atlanta newspapers," as Eugene Talmadge called the *Journal* and the *Constitution*, had learned some kind of lesson from their extreme partisanship and embarrassing defeat in the Talmadge-Carmichael campaign of 1946. This year both papers adopted a role of "neutrality." (The Thompson forces made considerable use of the fact that the only daily in Georgia supporting Talmadge—a Savannah paper—was also supporting Dewey, whom they described as the father of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.)

But whatever the importance of these various factors, it remains true that the campaign turned on the race issue. The turbid tide of bitterness and anger and hatred ran full, and the voters impatiently swept aside Thompson's protestations of his opposition to civil-rights legislation and his devotion to a segregated society.

What significance does the Georgia election have for the South as a whole? To understand the current Southern "revolt" it is necessary only to remember certain elementary facts of Southern politics. The typical Southern politician is not a one-gallus but a two-gallus man. He gets the money which makes it possible for him to keep on being a politician from big corporation interests operating largely out of New York through Atlanta or some other Southern trading center. He gets his votes by playing to the prejudices of his constituents.

In general, the Southern Representative or Senator, having been elected with Northern money, goes to Washington and votes faithfully with the Northern Republicans in the interest of the Northern exploiters of the South. He repays the constituents whom he is supposed to represent by catching and worrying a variety of

*GLENN W. RAINEY is an Atlanta college teacher who has long been a student of the political and economic problems of the South.*

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racial issues tossed to him by his obliging Republican allies. The South is the worst-housed section of the country. Its education is least adequate. Its health is most neglected. But its representatives are far too busy defending the South against the Negro and the Yankee to have any time to worry about remedial legislation.

The most distinguished Southern political leaders are elected by exactly the same kind of money—if not exactly the same money—that elects Senator Taft. During the regime of Roosevelt such "statesmen" were the most valuable governmental assets of the great corporate interests of America and the President's most effective enemies. Yet Georgia and the South had a tragically disproportionate need of the long-range reforms in the Roosevelt program. As a result of the short-range reforms many of the Southern states saw their total income doubled during the first four years of Roosevelt, while their Senators and Representatives, their governors and their legislators were viciously attacking him. The convenient weapon was of course Roosevelt's sympathy for the Negro. Witness the grass-roots revolt in Georgia, Frank Dixon's battle in Alabama to destroy Roosevelt as the enemy of the white race, Cotton Ed Smith's monotonous hysterics, Governor Sam Jones's ninety-nine theses published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and Pass-the-Biscuits Pappy's somewhat over-greedy espousal of the same cause.

The recent contest for the governorship in Georgia apparently cost each side between a quarter- and a half-million dollars. Ellis Arnall's victory in 1942 cost something like the same amount. Senatorial races are similarly expensive. Only the big corporations, controlled predominantly in New York, have this kind of money to spend in the South. No Southern politician can survive who does not make his peace with this corporate control —this Northern control.

What all this adds up to is that with passions in the South running as high as they unquestionably are in many of the states, almost anything can happen that seems expedient to the political leaders and their corporate sponsors. A state can be thrown to Dewey. A set of Thurmond-Wright electors can be chosen. A set of uninstructed electors can be chosen, to be used as seems convenient later on. Or a state may even be permitted to go for Truman and Barkley, if its action can be of no value to them. What the politicians must not do, in destroying the progressive program of the Democratic Party, is jeopardize their own titles as Democrats, or their Democratic seniority in Washington, or their control of the one-party machinery at home. By and large, these Southern politicians are perfectly willing to see a Republican victory. Their true zeal is directed, almost by definition, against the progressive forces represented in his time by Roosevelt and now, stumblingly, by Truman. Whatever else they have accomplished, the civil-rights advocates have, as of now, made the task of Southern reaction incomparably simpler. The principal beneficiaries of the crusade thus far have been the great Northern corporations.

# *Radio: Battle of the Ratings*

BY ARTHUR D. MORSE

THE popularity rating of radio programs is in the main an industry problem, but the tremendous emphasis placed upon it by sponsors, advertising agencies, and networks is bound to have an effect on programming, and this enlists the interest of the set owner. The battle now being waged between Hooper and his chief rival, A. C. Nielsen, may result in improved rating techniques, but whether it will elevate the level of broadcasting is a question. The purpose of the ratings is not, of course, to improve the quality of programs but to measure their commercial effectiveness, and unfortunately quality and commercialism are too often antithetical.

The advertiser's desire for an accurate measurement of the size of his audience is understandable; he is certainly entitled to try to get the most for his money. The question, therefore, arises: How accurate are the current systems?

C. E. Hooper, whose firm grosses about $1,000,000 a year, has seven hundred clients who more or less rely on his figures. He furnishes an index of the comparative popularity of commercially sponsored network programs in thirty-six large cities from coast to coast. All these cities are served by the four networks, all have local network stations which supply a strong signal in the area, and all have a sufficiently long list of local telephone subscribers. The weight of each area in the Hooper sample corresponds approximately to the number of home radios it contains in proportion to the national total.

Hooper's 1,500 interviewers in these cities are assigned sections of telephone books and make about

*This is the second article in a series on radio by Mr. Morse. A third will appear shortly.*

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1,500 calls every half-hour. It takes them about a year to go through the book. If you have never been called, it is because your phone was busy or there was no answer when the Hooper lady rang you. In such cases a repeat call is not made for a year. If you answer, the interviewer asks, "Were you listening to your radio just now?" From the replies a sets-in-use percentage is tabulated. Then follows the question, "To what program, please?"

The Hooperating of a given program, for our purpose, is the percentage of families listening to it, based on the total number of homes called, including the "not at homes." (I say, "for our purpose," because Hooper uses a more complex formula in which he considers busy lines, refusals to answer questions, and "don't know" replies. These factors, Hooper says, cause negligible variations; other researchers, we shall see, are more disturbed.) If 100 calls were made and only 40 people were listening to their radios, the sets-in-use figure would be 40 per cent. If 20 were tuned to program A, its Hooperating would be 20. Another important figure gives a program's "share of audience." This is obtained by dividing Hooperating by sets-in-use. Program A's share would thus be 50 per cent.

The flaws in Hooper's technique are, first, that he reaches only telephone homes, and while 94 per cent of America's families have radios, only about 58 per cent have telephones. Certainly the income differential between telephone and non-telephone homes is indicative of varied program tastes which are now unobserved. Secondly, Hooper is restricted to urban homes, and therefore variations of taste between rural and urban families, obviously important, are not considered.

Dr. Hans Zeisel, associate director of research for the McCann-Erickson advertising agency and a leading authority in the field of radio research, points out other inadequacies of Hooperatings. He says that the "you" in the question, "Were you listening to your radio just now?" is responsible for a 9 per cent error, since the telephone answerer may report "no" though other members of the family are listening. Dr. Zeisel has also tested the Hooper telephone procedure of hanging up after the sixth unanswered ring and has found a 2 per cent error resulting from this practice.

In addition to these serious defects, Hooper is unable to study the families interviewed to determine their personal characteristics, buying habits, and other data bearing on advertising effectiveness, a program's popularity being but one factor to be considered in assessing its commercial value.

To rectify the limited coverage an attempt was made recently to project Hooperatings on a national scale by mailing listener diaries to 4,800 cross-sectional homes. Only 2,600 diaries were returned, and these were intermingled with telephone interviews in eighty-four cities. The findings were released as United States Hooperatings last spring but have not been generally accepted. Researchers point out that Hooper diaries recorded *total* audience while the telephone interviews measured *average* audiences. Mail samples, moreover, are notoriously unrepresentative and introduce serious recording errors.

At this point A. C. Nielsen steps in. Nielsen has been pounding on the gates since 1942 when his Radio Index was first commercially operated. For his measurement of listening habits Nielsen uses an electronic recorder, called an audimeter, which when attached to a radio produces a continuous minute-by-minute record of station tuning. This appears on tape in a code from which the most minute information can be extracted. Wholly automatic, the audimeter can register AM, FM, and television simultaneously, and record what is heard on up to four radios in a home on a single tape.

Until now Nielsen has covered only 63 per cent of the United States with his audimeters. Coverage will be increased to 97 per cent by the installation of audimeters in 1,500 homes. Area sampling developed by Nielsen with the cooperation of the Bureau of the Census insures proper test homes. His reports to clients were late because field representatives had to pick up the audimeter tapes before they could be analyzed. Now he has announced an audimeter with a mailable tape. The device itself, recording every twist of the dial, seems fool-proof. Whereas Hooper provides bi-monthly ratings from thirty-six cities, Nielsen will offer weekly national reports.

Hooper has had the inside track because he was "fustest with the mostest," but the new Nielsen technique seems to me unquestionably the better system. Most network officials are unwilling to admit a preference, but Davidson Taylor, CBS vice-president and director of public affairs, told me that "CBS is inclined to go more by Nielsen." According to Dr. Zeisel, "At the time coverage is increased to 97 per cent of the nation, there is no doubt that Nielsen will be the superior system."

Ratings have a real value for the advertiser and the network. But when they take rigid control of policy making, they jeopardize the future of radio. Davidson Taylor put it mildly when he said, "There is a very grave tendency on the part of radio people to think of ratings as the only criterion."

Good music, documentaries, and discussions of public issues have generally low ratings; yet it is in these fields that radio can play a constructive role in the development of an informed America with cultivated tastes. Since radio depends upon advertising, the development of an accurate system of ratings is valid. But emphasized out of all proportion to their worth, ratings can drive the industry down an ever-narrowing road. Only insistence on balanced programming, in which respect CBS, in my opinion, at present leads the field, can offset this danger.

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# *The Children Can't Wait*

BY AAKE ORDING

AS OF September 10 I have resigned as director of the United Nations Appeal for Children.

It had been my privilege to initiate this project as a member of the Norwegian delegation to the General Assembly in December, 1946, and I was named its first director in March, 1948. Now I am resigning, not to give up my work, but to continue it. I feel that resigning was the only right thing to do after the Economic and Social Council decided last month, by a vote of eight to seven, with three abstentions, that the appeal should be terminated at the end of this year.

The council's decision jolted not only me but millions of people in fifty-two countries and thirty self-governing territories where campaigns to raise funds for the world's 230,000,000 needy children are well under way or slated to start this fall. Did the majority of the council believe that the needs of these children have been met? Or did it think that the appeal would not be successful; that other means would now be more effective?

The experts of three international organizations—the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—agree that 230,000,000 children today have so little food, clothing, and care that those of them who do not die before reaching maturity can only grow up permanently stunted in body and mind. Some 60,000,000 of these children are in Europe, 140,000,000 in the Far East. Many thousands of them, it has been discovered, are three inches shorter at the age of fourteen than their counterparts before the war; it is estimated that only one child in every three in continental Europe is free from tuberculosis. The Children's Emergency Fund has up to now been able to help only 4,500,000 children. And because of the decision to wind up the Appeal for Children and the thinness of contributions from national governments, the Fund is planning to complete its activities by 1950. This will leave no international agency adequate to the magnitude of the task directly engaged with child welfare.

The Marshall Plan, suggested by some as a substitute, is a long-term program designed to revive productive capacity—in certain countries only. It is explicitly not projected as a relief measure. Its effect on the welfare of children in the countries in which it operates must be uncertain, indirect, and far in the future. The children, in Marshall Plan and other countries, are starving now.

*AAKE ORDING has been sent to Paris by Trygve Lie to urge the U. N. General Assembly to continue the Appeal in 1949.*

As the Economic and Social Council did not bring forth any plan to replace the U. N. A. C., the only question remaining is: Did it believe that the appeal would fail, that people around the world are indifferent to the fate of children? While delegates from the United States and a few other countries where the results of the appeal had not come up to expectations may have gone to the meeting with such convictions, they did not express them in the debate. Everyone who spoke at the meeting, and the very New Zealand resolution which was the instrument of ending the U. N. A. C., praised the success of the appeal to date in very many areas, the benefits it has brought already to millions of children, and the credit it has gained for the United Nations. An Australian resolution consequently recommended that a second United Nations Appeal for Children be held during 1949. This resolution, however, was not allowed to come up for a vote.

THE New Zealand resolution which was adopted was a strange one—and, in fact, the entire role played by New Zealand in this case was astonishing, especially in view of the appeal's success there. In four places the resolution speaks of "continuing" the U. N. A. C.; then suddenly, in the last clause, it requests the Secretary General to maintain "present administrative arrangements" of U. N. A. C. "for a further period not to extend beyond December 31, 1948, for the purpose of completing and finally reporting on the results of the appeal." Since a terminal report would be required of the U. N. A. C. director in any event, the meaning of the resolution was most unclear. Immediately after the vote Dr. Evatt of Australia asked the chairman, Mr. Malik of Lebanon, to put to a vote—as clarifying amendments to the New Zealand resolution—those phrases in the Australian resolution clearly recommending a U. N. A. C. drive in 1949. An inconclusive response by Mr. Malik brought further questions from Dr. Evatt and others, and under this pressure for a clear interpretation the chair finally ruled that the vote on the New Zealand resolution meant that there should be no U. N. A. C. drive in 1949. This ruling amazed many members of the council, and I know for a fact that three of the eight delegates who voted for the resolution did so in the belief that they were voting for some kind

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of prolongation of U. N. A. C. But the hour was late, and before anything could be done the meeting was adjourned.

How can this affair be explained? The formal procedure by which the U. N. A. C. was killed only served to conceal any real reasons which may have existed for the action. I can think of but three vested interests that could wish to do away with U. N. A. C.—certain national private relief agencies, certain government officials of the old school in all lands who feel that the United Nations should restrict its activities to diplomatic rather than humanitarian matters, and left- and right-wing extremists who are against even limited efforts to build a united world.

These three groups may have worked to the same end, particularly in the United States. The American delegate voted for the New Zealand resolution, and his attitude, of course, carried immense weight. It is evident that the stand of the American delegate was largely determined by the lack of success of the U. N. A. C. campaign in this country. The United States failed to raise even 10 per cent of its quota, chiefly, it appeared, because it was not possible to convince all the established private relief organizations that complete fusion in purpose and effort with the U. N. A. C. was a prerequisite for a successful drive. This is why it was impossible to present the appeal here as a direct plea from the United Nations and the world's children; it also explains why the original idea of asking for a day's pay from every adult was never seriously considered in this country. In addition, certain government circles showed a reluctance to prosecute the appeal vigorously, and as a result it was not handled—until too late—as a vital top-policy matter.

The U. S. S. R., while favoring the project in principle, did not participate. However, Eastern European countries closely linked to Russia cooperated enthusiastically, and in at least one of them—Czechoslovakia—the campaign was carried through successfully despite a change in government. It should be noted that in the vote on the New Zealand resolution the three abstainers were Russia, Byelorussia, and Lebanon.

THE U. N. A. C. now goes before the court of world opinion. In Geneva last May more than 100 international non-governmental organizations unanimously voted for continuation of the work. In June this vote was repeated, again unanimously, by representatives of governments, employers, and employees meeting in the San Francisco conference of the International Labor Office. In July representatives of sixty-eight governments to the first World Health Assembly, in Geneva, voted for the same thing, again unanimously—while the Economic and Social Council, which was shortly to do away with the U. N. A. C., was sitting nearby. And now the World Federation of United Nations Associations, meeting in Geneva, has passed a unanimous resolution deploring the council's action and asking for a restoration of the U. N. A. C. In all these ballots authorized representatives of the United States took part, and in two cases they were the sponsors of the resolutions adopted.

I have no doubt about the mood of the peoples of the world. Every day brings new evidence of the success of the appeal. Ten countries have finished their drives. Twenty-six countries have drives in progress, several of them near conclusion. Sixteen countries are ready to start drives this fall. Suggestions as to how to expand and improve the project are coming in from many quarters, not the least from people in this country. To kill the U. N. A. C. now is to pronounce the sentence before the evidence is gathered and weighed.

In the Philippines the U. N. A. C. is on everybody's lips. In Pakistan it has inspired for the first time participation in an international effort and in work for child welfare. In Iraq the King's birthday has been fixed as "U. N. A. C. Day" *in perpetuity*. In Kenya blacks, Indians, and whites are for the first time sitting down together on public committees for a social purpose. In other countries women are for the first time taking on public responsibilities by sitting on U. N. A. C. committees. In Ecuador and the Dominican Republic permanent welfare institutions under the name of the United Nations are being established as a result of the U. N. A. C. drive. The outstanding achievements of the campaign in such countries as Iceland, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden have set a proud mark.

I am confident that the General Assembly, considering all these facts, will decide that the United Nations Appeal for Children must continue. No single vote for that purpose could be more helpful than the vote of the delegate of the United States. I am sure that the people and the government of the United States, with their great traditions in the field of humanitarianism and their increasing responsibility for leadership in the world, will not let their initial failure stand to their shame—or add to that shame by withholding support in the Assembly for a renewed U. N. A. C. Americans are now being given a second chance.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

WILLA CATHER'S last three stories have been published in a volume entitled "The Old Beauty and Others" (Knopf, $2.50). The third and shortest, Before Breakfast, though it is very slight, at least has the fiber and articulation of a created work of art. The other two, the title story and The Best Years, give the impression of being mementoes rather than new thrusts of Miss Cather's talent. So much so that one feels that they might almost have been written by a devoted understudy. The familiar visible elements of the Cather atelier are here: the style, the attitudes, the subject matter. But the invisible mysterious element, the creative energy which is necessary to quicken a given set of materials into life and entity, is missing. As a result the materials lie about, inert. And reading these stories is a little like walking among the ruins of a once loved house played upon by a mild sighing wind laden with the fragrance of nostalgia.

The Old Beauty, which is the more ambitious of the two, is interesting, however, for the very reason that it does contain all the visible makings of a significant work of art, and shows so plainly what happens, or does not happen, when the essential invisible element is missing.

Miss Cather's talent shows forth in both her conception and her portrait of the central character, Madame Gabrielle de Coucy. As the beautiful young Lady Longstreet she had presided over a drawing-room in "old London" to which the more important men of the time, and particularly the older men, had delighted to come. She is ending her days at the Hotel Splendide at Aix-les-Bains. This is something of a stock character in fiction, yet Lady Longstreet, as Miss Cather distinguishes her for us with delicacy and subtlety, is at once untypical and very convincing. The settings and the situations are likewise handled with insight and a fine unobtrusive skill. The theme—Madame de Coucy's hatred of the new world which has replaced the old and her refusal of its furniture and its values which is symbolized by her actual death—is authentic and inherently moving. Here, as I have said, are the makings of a significant piece of fiction. But as the story moves to its dénouement, one becomes more and more aware that it has been written, not out of the passionate yet detached interest of the artist going about his business, but out of the much feebler partisan impulse of an individual with preferences.

The curious result is the betrayal, so to speak, of the very character, Madame de Coucy, and of the very values to which Miss Cather is, as a person, obviously committed. In the climactic scene the "old beauty" is confronted with the ugly new world when the car in which she is riding in the mountains stops short to avoid hitting another car. The women who spring from the other car are Americans. They have driven this car twelve thousand miles and never had an accident. They are "bobbed, hatless, clad in dirty white knickers and sweaters," and they call each other Marge and Jim. Shortly afterward, as a result of the shock, Madame de Coucy, already an invalid, dies of a heart attack. The ending is entirely believable, and the double nature of the shock which brings on Gabrielle's death is skilfully played upon. The trouble is that in the context Madame de Coucy's violent rejection of the new world appears, not as it might have, as a grand and even tragic refusal, but merely as a gesture of distaste and impatience toward two individuals.

Miss Cather would have done better with her story, one reflects, in her untired days. And one can't help thinking of what Henry James would have done with this rather Jamesian theme. (Why Miss Cather tired and James did not is another and very interesting question.) Like Miss Cather, he would, as an individual, have shared Madame de Coucy's preferences. As an artist, however, he would have maintained the detached position: both worlds, not merely Gabrielle's, would have stood before us—consider his adumbration of the new world in "The Reverberators"; the confrontation would have taken place between these worlds, not merely between their chance representatives; and the two sets of values being given, Gabrielle's rejection would have had a dramatic and moral significance it quite fails to achieve in Miss Cather's personal, nostalgic, and tensionless version.

### Saarinen as Philosopher

*SEARCH FOR FORM.* By Eliel Saarinen. Reinhold Publishing Corporation. $4.50.

I HAVE known and admired Saarinen's work for nearly half a century: his Finnish Pavilion in the Paris Exposition of 1900 revealed to me an architect with a robust and smiling soul. His book "The City" is one of my few cherished classics in that fascinating field. But masters, if they are afflicted with a conscience, feel compelled to turn into teachers: Saarinen is director of the Cranbrook Academy of Art. As an educator he must reflect on the problems of his craft, so as to transmit the right principles to his disciples. I opened "Search for Form" with misgivings; I dreaded to see an artist appear in the guise of a doctrinaire and a pedagogue.

My fears were not wholly vain, but they were excessive. I still believe Saarinen owed us a totally different book, but since he had to write this one, I am grateful that he did it so well. There is nothing about him of the "non-creative-schoolbook-learned-art-teacher," to use his own phrase. He has humor, which he pleasantly calls the sunshine of mankind. He eschews the scoldings of Le Corbusier and the insufferable sublimities of Elie Faure.

His conception of functionalism is humane, not mechanistic. He is bold enough to defend the romantic. "Romance in art," he says, "means the creation of unreal mood through unreal form." But from the dubious definition he proceeds to the conception of romance as "the humanly emotional imagination that inspires to constructive deeds." Romance is escape and Utopia, no doubt; but it is right to escape from

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the mean, and Utopia provides the needed blueprints.

Saarinen rejects all dogmatism, especially the kind that can be translated into numerical formulas. Balance, which he substitutes for symmetry, is ever quivering with life. "The problems of proportion and rhythm" cannot be "settled by the establishment of golden rules for everyone to follow." He is an intuitionist: "the creative instinct is the sensitive seismograph that records vibrations of life and transposes them into corresponding vibrations of art."

But it should be added that each seismograph is unique, and cannot be used as a norm. The logic of Saarinen's thought ought to lead him to absolute individualism. The sole key to art, in creation and reception, is taste, and of taste it is futile to dispute. There is only one damning form of bad taste—to believe that one is in possession of good taste. Saarinen the Teacher recoils before such anarchism without daring to condemn it outright. Doctrines he rejects, but he wants to save principles—a distinction with a subtle difference. Nature is the fountainhead of eternal verities, and nature herself is "functional." (What is the function of a storm, a peak, a swamp?) Between nature and man he posits half-confessed idols: he believes (he admires Spengler and has not quite eliminated the Spengler virus) in collective, national, historical, cultural tastes against which it would apparently be a sin to rebel. He tries hard to reconstitute something of an orthodoxy, while insisting on the freedom of the spirit. (Have we not heard of "orthodox Protestants"? They should pair off with "liberal Catholics" in the realm of the absurd.)

In this he is no worse than all other writers on aesthetics, or, to generalize, than all philosophers of every school. For philosophy consists in denying or concealing contradictions which are manifestly there. But Saarinen has a fundamental conception of truth which neither jesting Pilate nor the fundamentalists will ever know: "Truth is not truth, unless there is a sincere desire for truth." In other words, truth, like happiness, can be pursued but not attained, since desire disappears in possession; or again, truth and happiness are the search, the quest, not the achievement. This book is emphatically not the "Law of Form" but the "Search for Form."

I wish this book had more architecture in it and less philosophy; for in the artistic field Saarinen can write almost as well as he can do. He would want us to take his opinions as challenges, not as dogmas. His *bêtes noires* are imitation and ornament. But imitation need not be lifeless and servile. The Greek and medieval artists (quaintly, he thinks the Goths originated the Gothic) imitated one another, and so do the functionalists today. The "new architecture" is an international style; the styles of the past were protracted vogues. You cannot use any intelligible idiom without some degree of conformity: not even Gertrude Stein could write unadulterated Steinese. And a style remains alive, like a language or a faith, as long as it conveys a message valid for today. As for ornament, it is good if it serves its purpose well: the Greeks, and the medieval builders again, and Shakespeare, and Milton, were profusely, triumphantly ornate; indeed, Shakespeare in this respect was positively baroque.

I do not believe that any true work of art ever owed its quality to principles, doctrines, rules, or canons. Art is the man. This book is good, although as futile as all other treatises on the subject, because it is a bit of Saarinen's autobiography—Saarinen escaping from practical problems and having his fun chasing phantoms. The work is properly dedicated to Young Minds—of All Ages.

ALBERT GUERARD

## The Leaders of Labor

*THE NEW MEN OF POWER.* By C. Wright Mills, with the Assistance of Helen Schneider. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

WHAT Dr. Kinsey did for sex and the American male, Dr. Mills now does for unions and the American labor leader. Although the subject is hardly as appetizing, the results should prove just as explosive.

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movers, he will be disappointed. But Dr. Mills's book is a useful and informative volume, painting, as its author says, "a collective portrait of these labor leaders, set in their American time and society." "The New Men of Power" at once gives facts, in a field where myth and misinformation often have obscured the simplest statistics, and constructive criticism, where ambiguities and stereotyped rationalizations more often than not have stifled unorthodox opinion.

When Dr. Mills ventures into the area of personal opinion, it is not always easy to agree with him. He makes assumptions that this reviewer found open to question. He draws conclusions that are out of the ordinary. He often strews otherwise interesting chapters with bare statistics. He sometimes inclines to look at things too much in terms of black and white. But both his array of facts and his own views should jolt us into some fresh thought.

By way of basic premise Dr. Mills asserts that labor leaders have become the strategic élite in this country. They are the new men of power because, as he puts it, they lead the only organizations capable of stopping the main drift toward war and slump. In the crisis which Dr. Mills says categorically is coming our politicians will compete for the allegiance and support of labor leaders and the great masses they hold in their control. The right will strive to eliminate these leaders, while the extreme left will vie with the liberals to win over union bosses and their rank and file.

America's labor leaders, Dr. Mills contends, "are the only men who lead mass organizations which in a slump could organize the people and come out with the beginnings of a society more in line with the image of freedom and security common to left traditions." In a crisis the major problem is how intelligent decisions can be backed up with power—"how ideas and people are to be united into a going concern." For Dr. Mills the labor leader is "now the only possible link between power and the ideas of the politically alert of the left and liberal publics."

What the labor leader does—or fails to do—may be the key to what will happen in this country, Dr. Mills reasons. And what this country does—or fails to do—may be the key to what will happen in the world.

Working on this theory, Dr. Mills and his fact-finders dig into virtually every phase of the American labor movement. What is the difference between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.? (Well, for one thing, C. I. O. executives are much younger and better educated than A. F. of L. heads: 73 per cent of the men who lead the C. I. O., as compared with only 35 per cent of A. F. of L. leaders, are under forty-five years of age; 56 per cent of the C. I. O. men, as against 39 per cent in the A. F. of L., have graduated from high school or gone to college. And while labor leaders are better educated than the adult public, they are not as well educated as the bosses of the business corporations with whom they deal.)

What are the chances of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. "getting together"? Not so good, Dr. Mills finds. And in a careful analysis he tells why. What does the general public know about the men who run unions? Not much. Middle Westerners, for example, have the impression that most unions are run by foreigners, which isn't so. But the man in the street, Dr. Mills finds, holds fairly strong moral opinions about unions, even if John L. Lewis is the only labor leader well known to him. (Sixty-three per cent of the public know that John L. runs the coal miners' union, but in 1943 nine times as many people disapproved of Mr. Lewis as approved of him.)

What political groups are playing for the support—or elimination—of the labor leader? Dr. Mills pigeon-holes these "political publics" into the far left (mostly Trotskyites), the independent or unorganized left, the Communists, the liberal center, the practical right (mostly Senator Taft and the "business as usual, back to normalcy" set), and the sophisticated conservatives (who read *Fortune* and right now want to "cooperate" with union leaders).

How do labor leaders feel about a third, labor, party? Dr. Mills, with an apparently strong personal interest, relates extensively the history of third-party movements in this country, tabulates the ideas of union men on the matter, and in general provides material, four chapters of it, that should be very helpful in the present election. Eventually, he admits that he favors a politically alert labor movement—and one politically alert outside the existing two major parties. This is one of the views that promises the biggest bang when "The New Men of Power" gets discussed.

Although Dr. Mills does finally identify himself as sympathetic with the left —which left, he doesn't say, but one infers a "moderate" Socialist left—he reserves some of his most caustic commentary for present-day liberals who, as he sees them, "trundle along with great noise and little clear-cut orientation." Dr. Mills is not too happy with the type of thinking presented nowadays by such magazines as *The Nation* and the *New Republic*.

With a biting impatience he observes that the later-day liberal would "inspire the labor leader to have more political vision, which means to be excited about longer-range views—for example, to think of 1949 in 1948." In a chapter reminiscent of Frank Sullivan's Mr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Mills takes to task the "liberal rhetoric" of "labor-management cooperation," "responsible leadership," "good-will," and "mutual understand-

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ing." These stereotypes, used with equal glibness by union spokesmen and business executives speaking to the Rotary Club, only confuse issues, Dr. Mills believes. He suggests a revaluation of the liberal vocabulary. Aside from his inquiry into the anatomy of labor, it would seem that the second major point of his book is to sting liberals into some thoughtful self-examination.

In way of broad conclusion about labor leaders themselves Dr. Mills gloomily decides: "Never has so much depended upon men who are so ill-prepared and so little inclined to assume the responsibility."

ROBERT E. NICHOLS

## The Literature of Brazil

*MARVELOUS JOURNEY.* A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing. By Samuel Putnam. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

FOR most of his adult life Samuel Putnam, who was born in Rossville, Illinois, has been writing about literature written in other tongues than English. When in the 1930's he turned his major attention from French, Italian, and Spanish to Portuguese, and particularly to that variant of Portuguese which is used in Brazil, he seemed to many of his friends to be working up a side alley of dubious importance. For reasons of political good neighborliness the Brazilians and their culture had to be noticed, but, to paraphrase the famous remark of the Edinburgh *Review*, "Who ever read a Brazilian book?"

Thanks to Mr. Putnam's industry and skill in translation, a good many people have by this time read at least three Brazilian books, one of which was Gilberto Freyre's remarkable study, "The Masters and the Slaves." In 1946 the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations gave itself a laurel leaf by sending Mr. Putnam as exchange professor to the land whose writings he had so long known. It was a journey lit with the glow of dreams come true, and one's churlish quarrel with this book which came out of that journey is that the glow in its pages gleams too bright. One begins to wonder to what extent Mr. Putnam's critical faculty, and hence his value to the reader who has not been so fortunate, may be correspondingly dimmed.

Yet if only for the reason that books about a foreign literature are so often dull, this one makes a justifiable appeal to the casual reader as well as to the student of Brazil. Its author had much more than ordinary success in transferring his enthusiasm for the people and the writers of Brazil to the printed page. He liked them, and he makes his readers like them. He had much more fun with them than is likely to come the way of the untutored tourist, and the tourist who reads this book before or after he goes to Brazil will find his own interest enriched. The student who really wants to evaluate Brazilian literature will, however, do well to check Mr. Putnam's encomiums with critical reading of his own before he concludes that Brazilian writers are in truth the unexampled geniuses that this scholar-traveler finds them. His enthusiasm is infectious, and a good antidote for ignorance. It is not harmed by a pinch of salt.

MILDRED ADAMS

## The Roots of Anti-Semitism

*A MASK FOR PRIVILEGE: ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA.* By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

IT IS ironic that the civil emancipation of minorities in the democratic West has generally been accompanied by the emergence of forces designed to oppress them anew. It was not until after Lincoln had issued his Proclamation that Negroes became subject to every conceivable form of legal tyranny. "Pacification" has eventually meant, for the American Indian, his confinement to backwoods reservations. Orientals have been excluded from citizenship altogether. And the Jew's first real taste of freedom, obtained in America, has been followed by an ever-rising tide of anti-Semitism.

It is a further irony that organized prejudice should have developed on the heels of the most far-reaching economic revolution known to man, and that it should have occurred at all in the country where industrialism reached its apogee—the United States. On the other hand, as Carey McWilliams observes in this latest of his excellent books on minorities, it was to be expected that the wielders of the immense power generated by the Civil War would strive fiercely to protect and extend their vested interests against all comers, and especially against the feared Jew. Their use of anti-Semitism as "a mask for privilege" first became flagrantly evident in 1877, when a swank Saratoga hotel refused accommodations to the prominent banker Joseph Seligman. This incident was significant, McWilliams believes, because Seligman and other Jews of German origin represented a threat to the dominant financiers, who were largely of Anglo-Saxon heritage; social exclusion of the Jew was meant to lead to his economic exclusion. The author marshals considerable evidence to back his theory that the upper classes have been mainly responsible for establishing, and perpetuating, out of conscious self-interest, the current pattern of anti-Semitism in America. He concludes his case by citing the *Fortune* survey, February, 1946, which showed that anti-Semites number 13.5 per cent among the rich, as against 8.8 per cent among the total adult population.

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Fundamentally a mechanism which "has always been used by the enemies of the people" in time of crisis, anti-Semitism, in this period of permanent global crisis, must be equated with fascism. Contending that anti-Semitism has been steadily on the rise since the early 1930's, McWilliams says that we have really been witnessing the maturing of a native fascism. That the rabble-rousers have thus far failed to unite is no reason to suppose that they will be unable to do so in the future, under more respectable and more powerful auspices than they at present command. McWilliams warns that in taking the crackpots too lightly we risk repeating here the self-destroying ostrich policy of pre-Hitler Germany. For the real significance of the night-shirters is that they "release the inhibited anti-Semitism" shared by all too many others and break ground for more general acceptance of anti-Semitism as a political weapon.

The trouble with McWilliams's central thesis is that it borrows too heavily from the Marxist interpretation of fascism as an instrument by which capitalists seek to preserve their power. This leads him to consider the middle class as the inevitable mass base for fascism. True, it is capable of playing this role, but the author ignores the possibility that it may, and can, play another—that of a bulwark between the extremes of totalitarianism. Moreover, McWilliams overlooks the fact that the proletariat swarmed into the Nazi and Fascist legions quite early in the game, and that in the United States it has composed the rank and file of such movements as Coughlin's. The experience of Germany, which McWilliams applies too frequently and sometimes too mechanically, proves that Nazism drew its strength from the dissident elements among *all* strata of the population (but was financed, we all agree, chiefly by the big economic interests). He tacitly recognizes this when he writes that "the exposed position of the Jew [in our economy—D. J.] is subject to increased pressure from three directions: from above (monopoly), from below (the working class), and from within the middle class." (Incidentally, this analysis explodes the canard, spread by anti-Semites, that Jews are gaining too much economic power.) If this is so, then obviously anti-Semitism reflects the presence of a profound social sickness within society *as a whole.*

This is particularly evident in the working of our economy, which reveals a "markedly anti-Semitic bias," and which, "more than any other single factor . . . has brought about the peculiar distribution of Jews on the checkerboard of our economic system." The Jew, finding himself "in the middle of the middle class," is thus far more vulnerable than any other group, and far more likely to be stamped with the unlovely characteristics typical of middlemen everywhere.

The corollary is that anti-Semitism will be destroyed only if basic changes are made throughout the economy, enabling Jews to participate more fully and more normally in it. McWilliams is understandably impatient with those who imagine that healthy relationships can be established through good-will propaganda. More effective, in the immediate future, would be government intervention to protect minority rights. Will this threaten the rights of the majority? McWilliams answers that "the government should intervene" only "where the private association discriminates in the area of what I have called 'functional' rights—health, housing, education, employment, and so forth."

Apropos of federal intervention, on page 101 of "A Mask for Privilege" the author writes, "It is interesting to note how the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon momentarily subsided when reaction captured control of Congress in 1946." Presumably, what McWilliams is saying is that anti-Semitic activity decreases in proportion to the degree of the reaction expressed by Congress. This is a neat, but dangerous, calculation. If true, it would follow that, in the interests of further combating anti-Semitism, we ought this year to augment our reactionary Congress with a reactionary Administration. Fortunately, McWilliams contradicts himself when, earlier (on page 43) he points out that "after the election of 1936, there was a slight pause in the developing anti-Semitic agitation (the thumping Roosevelt victory was doubtless responsible for this recession)." This reviewer chooses to believe that it is the latter statement which more nearly accords with the known philosophy of Carey McWilliams, and hence that it is a liberal Congress and a liberal President which will guarantee us the best chance to crush anti-Semitism.

Despite its occasional weaknesses, "A Mask for Privilege" is a welcome change from the involved and usually superficial works published nowadays. It is a hard-hitting book written with the passionate sincerity and indignation which make Carey McWilliams one of our most effective fighters against bigotry and prejudice. I can think of no better way to conclude than with the following acid dissection of the typical anti-Semite, which he in turn quotes from Jean-Paul Sartre's brilliant pamphlet, "Portrait of the Anti-Semite," which was published in 1946 by *Partisan Review.* The italics are McWilliams's.

*He is a man who is afraid.* Not of the Jews of course, but of himself, of his conscience, of freedom, of his instincts, of his responsibilities, of solitude, of change, of society and the world; of everything except the Jews. He is a coward who does not want to admit his cowardice to himself; a murderer who represses and censures his penchant for murder without being able to kill except in effigy or in the anonymity of a mob; a malcontent who dares not revolt for fear of the consequences of his rebellion. By adhering to anti-Semitism he is not only adopting an opinion: he is choosing himself a person. He is choosing the permanence and impenetrability of rock, the total irresponsibility of the warrior who obeys his leaders—and he has no leader. He chooses to acquire nothing, to deserve nothing but that everything be given him as his birthright—and he is not noble.

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He chooses finally, that good be ready-made, not in question, out of reach; he dare not look at it for fear of being forced to contest it and seek another form of it. The Jew is only a pretext; elsewhere it will be the Negro, the yellow race. The Jew's existence simply allows the anti-Semite to nip his anxieties in the bud by persuading himself that his place has always been cut out in the world, that it was waiting for him and that by virtue of tradition he has the right to occupy it. *Anti-Semitism*, in a word, *is fear of man's fate.* The anti-Semite is the man who wants to be pitiless stone, furious torrent, devastating lightning—in short, everything but man.

DANIEL JAMES

## Drama

*JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH*

THE story of an individual or a community which for some reason or other suddenly begins to live according to the Golden Rule is certainly not new. I do not think that I have ever met a version which really came off, but I doubt that the tale has ever been worse told than in "A Story for Strangers" (Royale Theater), which is, unfortunately, the first "serious" play of the season. Marc Connelly, the author, has had a hand in two of the most successful plays of the modern American theater, but no one would ever guess it from the present work. Since the hero is a horse, perhaps the most appropriate as well as the kindest adjective which could be used to describe it would be "spavined."

Everything, except possibly the intention, is wrong, beginning with the fable. There is no use trying to tell the story, for no one would believe any version which could be devised. Suffice to say that it concerns a nice young man who wins his girl while he is living in an abandoned stable with an aged horse he has befriended. When the counterman from a hamburger stand invokes the Roman goddess of the stables, the horse is transformed and begins to harangue the leading citizens of the community, who have fortunately gathered at his stall. The equine discourse is inaudible to those in the paying audience, but it is apparently concerned with the errors of the human race, and it is so effective that the village chippy turns chaste, the dairy owner begins giving free milk to the needy, and the banker cancels mortgages right and left.

Now I am not unaware of two facts which presumably the author had in mind. In the first place, "from the horse's mouth" is a current expression, and in the second place a certain well-known miracle of previous times took place in a stable. But neither of these facts saves the present story from being in itself grotesquely inept, and everything about the way in which it is told increases the air of ineptitude.

For one thing, it is told in a series of awkwardly managed flashbacks. For another, it makes liberal use, not of one "narrator," but of several, and this worse than dubious device is used about as inexpertly as it is possible to imagine. Scenes are elaborately prepared for, and then, when they actually come, nothing happens in them. Characters wander in and out, and from time to time such action as there is stops while these characters discuss the proper pronunciation of the names of figures in Greek mythology or exchange pointless anecdotes of their youth. Worst of all, but most difficult to describe, is the fact that the play preserves no mood and seems to take place in no one realm of fancy.

Mr. Connelly appears to go on the assumption that there are only two styles, the one which is realistic and the one which isn't. He seems to have no conception of the fact that when realism is abandoned, it becomes necessary to define very clearly the particular "nowhere" in which the action is supposed to take place. As a consequence, the auditor simply has no idea where he is. Sometimes the play's intent seems close to realism; sometimes it seems to attempt one or another of the recognizable styles which deviate from realism, but it never maintains any premise for more than a few minutes at a time, and the only realm continuously suggested is the realm of the unconvincing.

If Mr. Connelly were a new beginner, there would be no point in going on at such length about the badness of this particular play, but he has written well in the past, he has enjoyed deserved success, and it seems not unreasonable to point out just how bumbling this piece turns out to be. While we are about it, we may add that the direction is equally inept.


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# Records

*B. H. HAGGIN*

FROM RCA Victor comes another of its highly unsatisfactory packaging-jobs, which combines in one album (MO-1228, $7) a miscellaneous group of recordings by John McCormack: Handel's "Care, Selve" and Mozart's "Ridente la calma" (10-1434), Lotti's "Pur dicesti" and Brahms's "Feldeinsamkeit" (10-1435), arias from Delibes's "Lakme" and Boito's "Mefistofele" (10-1438), duets from Puccini's "La Boheme" with Bori and Bizet's "Pearl Fishers" with Sammarco (10-1439), and "Macushla," "I Hear You Calling Me," "Goodbye, Sweetheart," and "There Is a Flower" (10-1436/7). In the Handel and Mozart arias we get a quiet flow of lovely vocal sound; and that is what we get also in the Brahms song: a completely straightforward delivery of the notes and phrases without any shaping or underlining or infusion of poetic or dramatic emotion through change of pace and color. In the Lotti song we get a dazzling manipulation of the flow of sound in the florid passages, the more dazzling for being all within the limits of musical good taste; in the Delibes and Boito arias and the duets there are greater intensity and ringing high notes (with some strain and vibration in the climax of the Delibes); and in the duets we also get the beautiful baritone voice of Sammarco, the early Bori voice—small, but without its later acidulous quality.

Columbia has issued one of the works of Eric Satie with amusing titles—"Three Pieces in the Shape of a Pear" for two pianos, played by Robert and Gaby Casadesus (Set 763, $3.90). The music itself—for me, at any rate—isn't amusing, or even in any way interesting. The performance is good and well-reproduced.

The enormously increased number of records to review in the past couple of years has left little space in this column for other matters—one of them being music on the radio. Since I last wrote about it, in December, 1946, the situation has deteriorated. The networks still offer the organizations whose prestige attracts the mass-public and, in some instances therefore, commercial sponsors: the New York Philharmonic, Boston Symphony, N. B. C. Symphony, and Philadelphia Orchestras, the Metropolitan Opera. N. B. C. keeps its orchestra—but not Toscanini—going all year; A. B. C. offers the Boston Symphony in summer as well as winter, and replaces the Metropolitan Opera with its own orchestra. It must be noted, however, that what the networks send out, if it is not commercially sponsored, the individual affiliated stations may not carry, or may carry in an unsatisfactory way: readers have complained about their local stations' not carrying the Philharmonic at all, or slicing off part of the broadcast for a commercial program of a local advertiser, or rebroadcasting a sometimes defective recording of the broadcast at an inconvenient time.

But even the few half-hour sustaining programs of concert-caliber music which the networks were broadcasting late at night or early Sunday morning two years ago are fewer now. C. B. S. last year dropped Invitation to Music and a couple of other programs and now broadcasts only E. Power Biggs's organ-recital Sunday mornings at 9:15; N. B. C., which dropped The Story of Music, has added Orchestras of the Nation to the crowded weekend orchestral schedule Saturdays at 3, and still broadcasts a string quartet Sunday mornings at 8:30 for the network outside of New York; Mutual similarly broadcasts for the network outside of New York the Pro Arte Quartet on Saturdays; A. B. C. broadcasts Coffee Concerts of chamber music at 8:30 Sunday mornings, and the Fine Arts Quartet from Chicago for the network outside of New York Sunday mornings at 11, and this year filled in the Boston Symphony's time on Tuesday evenings, between the Tanglewood and winter seasons, with the Chamber Music Hour. It must again be noted, however, that what the networks send out the individual affiliated stations don't always carry; that in the assigned half-hour a work lasting forty minutes has a movement sliced out or is cut off before its conclusion; and that although A. B. C. reported to me a mail-response for the Tuesday evening Chamber Music Hour heavier than had been anticipated, and from all parts of the country, nevertheless it took a quarter of the hour away for a commercially sponsored news program.

The First Piano Quartet and the Telephone Hour, which Arthur D. Morse recommended in his recent article, don't offer music of concert caliber—though the Telephone Hour, the most glitteringly expensive of the commercially sponsored studio programs that present big-name performers in hodge-podges of popular and semi-classical music, does occasionally vary the formula by allowing a little Mozart or Bach or Beethoven in with the Victor Herbert, Chaminade, and Puccini—but only a little, like the first movement of Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto with the exposition and development sliced out.

New Yorkers can supplement the networks' programs with some of the things offered by WNYC, WABF (FM), and WQXR—the last of which can also be heard in places as distant from New York as Ohio and Massachusetts. And those who can get CBL Toronto (740 on the dial) or CMB Montreal (940) will hear an excellent series of programs Wednesday evenings beginning at 7:30.

Next Week in *The Nation*

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*Reviewed by L. S. Stavrianos*

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# Letters to the Editors

## "As My Old Mother Used to Say"

*Dear Sirs:* Early in June my friend Smithers and I, when the bus broke down, dropped in at the graduating exercises of Hollow Falls High School. We might as well broaden our souls during an extra hour, we felt. Smithers is an idealist, and writes verse. . . .

A Patriarchal Figure strode to the platform:

"My friends, as my old mother used to say"—dramatic pause; then—"God bless all mothers everywhere!"—the speaker drew a handkerchief from his pants' pocket and passed it over one eye, the other remaining on his audience. He then blew his nose. Members of the audience drew handkerchiefs from *their* pants' pockets or elsewhere and blew *their* noses. *Blasted place's gone loco parentis,* murmured Smithers.—"As my old mother used to say, be a good man and you will be happy; be a good man first, my friends, and a wise man second. Now take this evolutionary nonsense. In one of his great speeches that great man, William Jennings Bryan, once remarked, 'It is better to know the Rock of Ages than the age of the rocks . . .'

"But my subject this evening, my friends, is The American Way. I believe in The American Way, the way of individualism, of personal initiative, the way of free men and free women. Let us follow The American Way; let us rout out and unmask and destroy all Communists on the field of battle, also. Let us build up the greatest army, the greatest navy, the greatest air force in the world. Our globe is no longer round; it has assumed the shape of a powder keg. But *we* can be happy in our freedom. Let us fear no man, but, equally important, let us live unto ourselves. As that great American, Colonel McCormick, says in the world's greatest newspaper . . .—*First sensible point the old coot's made,* grumbled Smithers. *We certainly need to be prepared. But now he's off on the joys of isolation. "Millions for defense but not one cent for Tribune," says I.*

"In ourselves let us find peace: let us seek happiness in this contented land. But even this land of promise is not without its problems. Alas, my friends, has Hollow Falls been altogether guiltless? Here in Hollow Falls we have had this year a teachers' strike! Can such things be? . . .—*Angle worms must be sprouting vertebrae in these parts,* murmured Smithers. *In the words of the immortal Patrick Henry, "Give me salary or give me debt."*

"This glorious land of ours is the land of opportunity: you will remember that only last March our friends the Thomases. . . . Stand up, Ezra and Millie Thomas. . . . But there are those who would do away with our blessings of prosperity, our initiative, our individualism, our American Way. Now take this crazy talk about socialized medicine . . ."—*The land of the fee and the home of the grave,* murmured Smithers, as we left.

THEODORE ERNEST SITES

Lubbock, Texas, September 19

## Schacht: Big Fish or Little Fish?

*Dear Sirs:* In your issue of September 11 you deplore the acquittal of Hjalmar Schacht by a German denazification court on the charge of being a major Nazi offender. This followed his earlier dismissal by the Nürnberg Military Tribunal. After noting Schacht's long association with Hitler, you observe: "The Nazi program seemed predestined to inflation and would have been in serious trouble without Schacht's guidance. . . . Indeed, it is quite possible that if he had refused to cooperate . . . economic difficulties would have engulfed Hitler and millions of lives would have been saved."

I am afraid you do more than justice to Schacht's financial policies, and as a result lend continued credence to the outrageous myth of this man's genius. There is no evidence that his measures were more than a series of crude and rather obvious improvisations to accommodate the reemployment and rearmament policies of the early Nazi period. It is at least possible that some of these steps—the exchange controls and the assortment of marks for different purposes—achieved notoriety because of their complexity and awkwardness. No one, I think, would seriously argue that German exchange control was more skilfully designed or more competently administered than that of Britain after 1939. Likewise the famous trade agreements with the Eastern European states—in which Schacht's personal influence may or may not have been paramount—were a routine accomplishment, given Germany's bargaining power and willingness to exploit it. It would be hard to show that they were more touched by genius than a hundred other commercial agreements negotiated before or since. Finally, there is little doubt that Schacht actually opposed some very sensible measures (from Hitler's point of view), including pre-war efforts to expand arms production and extend mobilization.

To say that Schacht was indispensable to Hitler is to imply, I fear, a belief in that ubiquitous, dramatic, but wholly mythical figure, the financial wizard. Americans who saw Schacht after the war found a conceited, petulant, and intellectually frozen old man who would fit badly into even this fictitious role. This, plus the fact that he was associated with the highly tentative revolutionaries of July 20, 1944, and the plenitude of more dynamic and brutal offenders, serves to reduce Schacht to the status of, if not a minor, at least a secondary offender. If, for his sins, he deserves to spend his remaining years in jail, he certainly should not be committed with the honors that you and so many others accord him.

J. K. GALBRAITH

Cambridge, Mass., September 19

[*Mr. Galbraith, director of the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey in Germany in 1945, was in charge of German and Japanese economic affairs for the State Department in 1946.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

## A Slight Case of Libel

*Dear Sirs:* I think your readers would be interested in the following extracts from an open letter which I recently sent to Bishop Henry O'Brien of Hartford, Connecticut:

Your Excellency: At Bridgeport, in your diocese, there is published a weekly Hungarian Catholic newspaper, *Ami Labunk* (*Our Paper*), which according to its masthead is the "official organ of all the Hungarian churches of New England." The editor of this paper is the Reverend Stephen F. Chernitzky, priest of St. Stephen's Hungarian Catholic church in Bridgeport.

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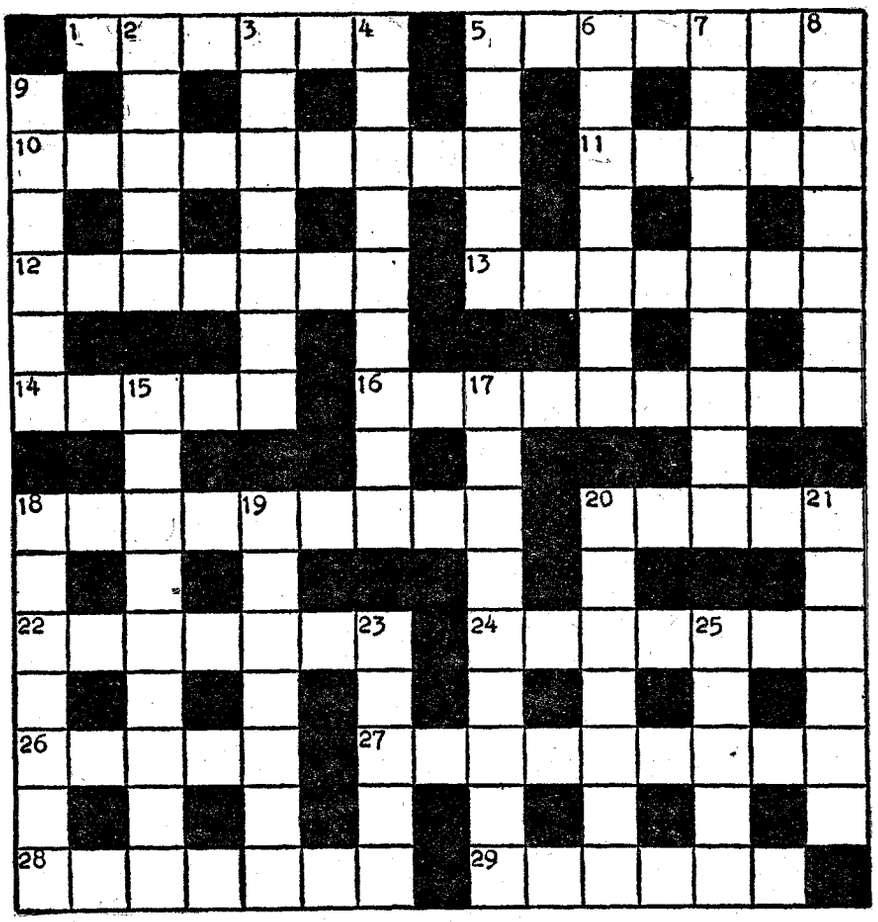
# Crossword Puzzle No. 281

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Sort of aide to leave unceremoniously? (6)
5 See 13.
10 Gdynian? (5, 4)
11 Praises would singularly be for the Archbishop. (5)
12 Take root and get a wild blow. (7)
13, 5 Hide-bound. (7-7)
14 This is hardly creditable. (5)
16 Found in the more simple mental cases. (9)
18 Traditionally, a Yeoman of the Guard. (9)
20 Not 21. (5)
22 Fairly large, like a wall before papering? (7)
24 A fire-opal might fit a girl so. (7)
26 This might be either raw or burnt. (5)
27 Greedy. (9)
28, 29 The nearest horse, or none at all. (7, 6)

## DOWN

2 Just the thing one might expect in a Shakespearian comedy. (5)
3 What art might be contrary to. (7)
4 Tripods so become the poet! (9)
5 There might be a catch in this. (5)
6 The sort of glue vat that is supposedly common. (7)
7 This seems rather crude. (9) (hyphenated)
8 At one time this was the state of Mormonism. (7)
9 Together, perhaps in duet form. (6)
15 The devil you say! (9)
17 Anodyne. (9)
18 A disjointed thumb is elemental. (7)
19 Get me up and go down around the saloon. (7)
20 13–5 with this, perhaps.
21 Find it here when the pickle-barrel is half full. (6)
23 They constitute most of ourselves. (5)
25 Pertaining to Zeno's porch. (5)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 280

ACROSS:—1 ACONITE; 5 MEANDER; 9 CRYPTIC; 10 GRAMPUS; 11 SUPERSTRUCTURES; 12 SCARABS; 13 FERUSES; 14 CAMBRIC; 17 INFUSES; 20 TO HAVE AND TO HOLD; 21 LACINGS; 22 CARTIER; 23 GANDERS; 24 STEPSON.

DOWN:—1 ACCOSTS; 2 OLYMPIA; 3 INTERNAL REVENUE; 4 EXCITES; 5 MUGWUMP; 6 A MATTER OF COURSE; 7 DEPORTS; 8 RESISTS; 14 CATALOG; 15 MOHICAN; 16 CHASSIS; 17 INDICTS; 18 STORIES; 19 SADIRON.

In its issue of August 28 an article appeared under the headline, "He Died as He Lived." The author of this article was Father Chernitzky, writing under his pseudonym of "Papist." Here is his article, as I have translated it:

"In the greatest magazine in the world [the *Saturday Evening Post*] the doctor of the late Janko Mazarek [Hungarians will recognize the pornography committed in spelling Masaryk's name this way] tries to prove that the great gobbler of Hungarians did not commit suicide, but that his Communist comrades murdered him and threw his body into the yard. The place where everything happened, which is some kind of hotel [it was the famous Czernin Palace, home of the Czech Foreign Ministry], is well known to one of the pupils of the author of this article. . . . The world has Benes and that Masaryk to thank for the Second World War. That drunken half-wit is well known by some of our 'Tots' [a nasty name for the Slovak people] and Hungarians at Bridgeport. . . . *His father was a bastard, the bastard of a Jewish landlord and a Slovak cowmaid.* The landlord, when he destroyed the life of the girl, forced his coachman to marry her. Such 'liberators' are plentiful in Europe. . . ."

Your Excellency: This newspaper has desecrated the memory of one of the greatest statesmen and philosophers of our times, a teacher, and the organizer of a free democratic country in Central Europe. Thomas G. Masaryk, the father of Jan Masaryk, has been called by a Catholic priest a Jewish bastard, by way of derogation. Goebbels invented such a lie, but no one except *Der Stürmer*—in a special edition larded with grotesque anti-Semitic caricatures—ever had the nerve to circulate it. Now it is Father Chernitzy's honor to do so.

I am sure, Your Excellency, that you will be shocked, as every honest American will be, to read Father Chernitzky's article. May I respectfully beg you to investigate the criminal writing of this priest in your diocese?

EMIL HAVAS

New York, September 20

## Shaw, Spender, and Semantics

*Dear Sirs: The Nation* is to be congratulated for publishing [in the issue of September 18] Stephen Spender's letter to the recent Cultural Congress in Wroclaw, Poland, particularly since Mr. Spender makes the same point in regard to the necessity of clearing our minds and defining our terms in the present controversy between East and West as did George Bernard Shaw, in whose recommendations *The Nation* [in the issue of September 4] saw only a subject for amusement.

I hope this means that *The Nation*

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has changed its mind, and agrees with both Mr. Shaw and Mr. Spender in the conviction of the absolute necessity, to quote Mr. Spender, "of carrying on the struggle for honest and truthful thinking."

This may sound like laboring a small point, but it is a vital one. To quote Mr. Spender again, ". . . unless political discussion is cleansed of the propaganda of power politics, it may become impossible for the nations of the world to understand one another's way of thinking." Which would lead one to end up, to quote Mr. Shaw, "in a war that nobody wants."

"The time has come," Mr. Spender continues, "for the intellectual to take the lead in opposing power politics, . . . and in endeavoring to define straightly the terms which are at present applied by both sides to their particular policies." This is a lot better than *The Nation's* recent acceptance of "a word means what I choose it to mean"—which, in a magazine of opinion using the power of words to convince, is sheer "apostasy."

SILVIO ZANETTI

Worcester, Mass., September 17

[*Without wishing to detract from Mr. Zanetti's argument or to disclaim admiration of anything Mr. Spender had to say, it would seem advisable to remind our readers that contributors to the Letters-to-the-Editors section speak for themselves and not for this magazine.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

## CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD is the author of a number of books, including a volume on city planning called "The Future of Paris." He recently published his autobiography, "Personal Equation."

ROBERT E. NICHOLS, formerly on the Washington staff of the New York *Herald Tribune*, is now Washington labor correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

MILDRED ADAMS has made a special study of Spanish and Hispano-American literature.

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